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# DAILY REPORT
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## PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY SESSION OPENS 28 JUNE

AU282025 Tirana Domestic Service in Albania 1800 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Summary] The ninth session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly opened this afternoon. Taking part were vanguard cooperativists and workers, workers and cadres of departments, institutions and economic enterprises, representatives of mass organizations and others. "Also taking part were Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrades Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hasbiu, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra and Qirjako Mihali; and members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government."

"The session was declared open by Simon Stefani, People's Assembly chairman. He proposed the following agenda: "1) approval of the draft family code of the people's socialist Republic of Albania; 2) report of the Council of Ministers on the achievements of the extension and improvement of communal services to cities and villages and measures for further implementing the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress for this sector; 3) approval of the draft law for the institute of savings banks and securities; 4) Approval of the decrees presented by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The deputies unanimously approved the agenda, and the first point was then discussed.

"Comrade Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers presented the report on the draft family code on behalf of the Council of Ministers." Among other things, Manush Myftiu stated that the achievements and transformations made in all sectors of life have also created a true revolution in the Albanian family. A new socialist family has been created. This family reflects all our social and moral progress, and at the same time is a base for the stability and strength of our society. This is why the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have urged that the socialist family be continually strengthened and be liberated from any reactionary and alien manifestations. The draft family code was discussed by the working masses. The proposals which resulted from this discussion have been expressed in the family code. The aim of the family code is to strengthen the socialist family, to ensure complete equality between spouses and also other members of the family. It also combats alien manifestations in family relations. "The direct interest of the state and society in family problems, without interfering in their intimate and delicate nature, aims at eliminating any activity which weakens the family, at removing any hindrances which do not allow it to carry out its important tasks.

"The constitutional principle of equality between men and women is threaded throughout the code." Women's emancipation is a continually important concern of the party and must be an essential part of socialist construction. The party must continually carry out work to root out old concepts, practices and customs which have not been completely wiped out despite the great blows they have suffered.

Marriage is an important aspect of the family code. It is characterized by free will in choosing one's partner. Marriage is based on the unity of ideopolitical and cultural ideas of the partners. Knowing one's partner is essential to socialist marriage. "Our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has recognized and still only recognizes marriages performed before the competent state organs." The family code deals with the rights and duties of spouses in family life in a special chapter. It must be known by all that relations between husband and wife must be characterized by equal rights and obligations, mutual respect, trust and love.

The family draft code also regulates divorce. Divorce, is recognized as an important victory, especially for women, which plays a positive role only when the woman correctly evaluates this and knows how to use it. The party wages an ideopolitical and educational struggle against alien manifestations and acts which damage marriage and the interests of children. The state is interested in protecting only healthy marriages which fulfill their tasks.

Special protection for mothers and children is outlined in the family code in various sectors as those dealing with marriage, adoption, motherhood, fatherhood, and relations between parents and child. The family code indicates that the judge awards care of children to the parent who has the best political and moral conditions for the children's education and upbringing.

Parent-child relations are also regulated in the family code. Parents are responsible for the upbringing of children and their communist education, and children must also respect and care for their parents, especially when they are disabled. The code also regulates personal relations between grandparents and grandchildren, and when children have no parents and are cared for by other persons. A difference with the previous code is that the draft code says parents must be responsible for supporting older children who are still attending school up to 25 years of age, even in cases where parents are divorced. "This also complies with the state's stand which ensures family allowances to older children up to 25 years when attending higher education."

"Every spouse, parent or child can demand their lawful rights and the protection of these rights from the judiciaries and other state organs."

The report on the Commission of the Judiciary was delivered by Liri Gjoliku, secretary of the commission. She spoke about the importance of the draft family code and stated that over 800,000 people took part in the discussion of the code. Important changes were made, such as the improvement of the institution of guardianship and many others. This draft code is more proof of the practice of the party's and Enver Hoxha's demand that "simple, clear and comprehensible laws for the masses should be prepared and approved because our laws express the people's will and are powerful tools in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to defend the victories of the revolution."

The next meeting of the legislature will take place tomorrow.

## AWP CC POLITBURO MEETS TO DISCUSS EDUCATION

AU261910 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] The AWP Central Committee Politburo has approved the conclusions of the popular discussion on raising the quality of work in schools. Under the chairmanship of Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, a meeting of the Politburo was held at the premises of the AWP Central Committee to examine a report presented by the Ministry of Education and Culture on the conclusions emerging from the popular discussion held on the question of raising the standard and quality of work in schools in accordance with the tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Congress.

During this broad discussion, with the participation of teachers, professors, students, pupils, production specialists and workers from educational and scientific institutions, a number of important problems were examined -- problems pertaining to consolidating the ideological and scientific substance of our schools, improving teaching plans and programs, revolutionizing teaching methods, strengthening links between the schools and production and life, raising the standard of physical and military training of pupils and students, improving laboratory equipment, raising the qualifications of teachers and professors, and some problems concerning the organiztion and administration of schools.

It was pointed out at the Politburo meeting that the educational system, built on the basis of the party's decisions, is complete and has met the country's needs well. Secondary education has been further extended, higher education has been further developed, and the ideological and scientific substance of the entire teaching process has been strengthened. The schools have made a particular contribution to raising the cultural standards of the younger generation and to preparing them for work and defense.

The Politburo approved the conclusions approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture and adopted relevant decisions which will serve to further raise the development and quality of the entire educational work of our schools that they may better meet the present and future demands for the education of the younger generations and the training of higher cadres.

## RADIO COMMENTS ON NEW SECRETARY OF STATE

AU281132 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] According to news agency reports, George Schultz, the newly appointed U.S. secretary of state, along with the ceremonies of his appointment, began consultations with representatives of the administration in order to become acquainted with the details of U.S. foreign policy, because he has to submit his foreign policy views before his approval by the Senate.

President Reagan is obviously satisfied, because he believes that the U.S. foreign and military policy is finally entrusted to some of his old friends and associates. ASSOCIATED PRESS, however, predicts difficulties for the new U.S. secretary of state because of the financial relations of this millionaire with the Arab world, which are in contradiction to Washington's firm support for Israel.

As for the foreign policy stands of the new U.S. secretary of state, they are, generally speaking, not very well known. According to information provided by the U.S. media, however, it is understood that he has conservative views and is against the interference of the White House in international economic life.

The New York TIMES cites a conversation between Reagan and Schultz in which Schultz allegedly assured Reagan that he will entirely support the new "firm" line of the President, including the President's decision even more resolutely to obstruct the construction of a natural gas pipeline between the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

It is too early for any kind of forecast, but we can assume that official Washington has been provided with a new member of the "millionaires' club," which constitutes virtually the whole of the Reagan Cabinet.

## PRESS COMMENTS ON HAIG RESIGNATION 27 JUNE

AU271918 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 27 /BTA/ -- RABOTNICHESKO DELO maintains that Mr Alexander Haig's resignation to the U.S. post of secretary of state is a manifestation of a deep political crisis. The same newspaper's correspondent in New York Mr Georgi Todorchev writes that this fact is another proof of the deep, structural crisis of the foreign political course of Mr Reagan's administration. "Both the nature and the form of Mr Haig's resignation reveal the inner catacylsm of the aims, principles and methods in which President Reagan's foreign political course is formed -- a course of opposing the objective tendencies and requirements of our time," the correspondent adds.

In the commentary it is said that the fundamental crisis, the foreign policial course of the U.S. administration is experiencing will not be done away with by Mr Haig's resignation. It does not depend on the simple change of persons. The polarization of the political forces in the U.S. will undoubtedly continue and deepen. This is so because this polarization is a reflection of the contradictory trends of the line of adventurism in the foreign policy and of the line of realism in the international relations.

NARODNA MLADEZH writes that Mr Haig's resignation imposes the conclusion that serious insoluble conflicts and contradictions exist in Mr Reagan's administration.

## ZHIVKOV, ARGENTINE PARTY LEADER CRITICIZE U.S.

AU272005 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Varna, June 27 (BTA) -- Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP received today in the "Evksino Grad" residential quarters Mr Atos Fava, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Argentine who participated in the international theoretical conference "The Lifework of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Time".

There was exchanged information of the two parties' work and views were exchanged on topical questions related to the present political international situation and on the international communist and workers' movement.

Mr Atos Fava underlined the great significance of the international theoretical conference devoted to the centenary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. He gave high assessment to the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the world, which has been made by Mr Todor Zhivkov at the conference and said that with its concreteness and all-roundedness this analysis is of special use for the Argentinian communists and the other democratic forces in the Argentine.

Mr Atos Fava dwelt on the situation in Argentina in connection with the crisis around the Falkland Islands, on the stand of the Argentinian Communist Party on this issue which expresses the strivings of the wide people's masses for struggling against the imperialist and colonial forces in defence of the national interests and independence of the country, for democratizing the socio-political life. He stressed that the people of the Argentina is wishing an end to be put to the colonial heritage and the sovereignty of the Argentine over the Falkland Islands to be restored.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Atos Fava stressed that the U.S. aggressive and militarist policy and that of their NATO allies which is aimed at frustrating the existing military balance in Europe and in the world and at gaining a military superiority has led to a serious exacerbating of the international situation and increasing the danger of war, to straining the tension in the different geographical regions including Latin America. They condemned the aggressive moves of the North American imperialism in Central America and the Caribbean Basin, the blackmailing and the threats to socialist Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada.

The two party leaders condemned the military acts of Great Britain in the South Atlantic, stood for regulating the conflict around the Falkland Islands by using peaceful means on the basis of the UN decisions for decolonization. It was noted that the use of force for restoring the colonial status quo of the islands contradicts to these decisions and poses a threat to the international peace and security.

Mr Zhivkov and Mr Fava decisively condemned the gross interference of imperialism and the reactionary forces with the internal affairs of Poland and Afghanistan.

They stressed the great role of the CPSU and USSR's peace initiatives, and those of the other socialist community countries as well as the efforts of the communist parties, of the democratic and progressive forces in the world for an immediate disarmament, for preserving and consolidating detente, for peace and security in the world. They stressed the necessity of further uniting the ranks of the international and workers' movement against the anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaigns of imperialism and the international reactionary forces.

## REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF GREEK PRIME MINISTER

### Zhivkov, Others Attend Dinner

AU241925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Tonight Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave an official dinner in honor of Andreas Papandreou which was held in a friendly atmosphere. The dinner was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Geoergia Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Kiril Zarev, deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and members of the State Council and the government. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou delivered speeches.

## Toasts Exchanged

AU251016 Sofia BTA in English 0822 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Report on toasts by Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgarian State Council, and Andreas Papandreou, Greek prime minister, at official dinner in honor of Greek Government delegation on 24 June 1982]

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA) -- "We have witnessed in recent years an unprecedented progress in Bulgaro-Greek relations", underlined Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

In his speech at the official dinner in honour of the Greek prime minister, Mr Andreas Papandreou, Mr Todor Zhivkov said last night: "When I speak with satisfaction of the achievements in recent years, I cannot but emphasize the great contribution of my respected friend, President Konstandinos Karamanlis, who with political realism typical of him chose the road towards goodneighbourliness and cooperation -- the only true road for maintaining relations between our two neighbouring countries and peoples."

Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized before his guest the exceptional importance of his visit. "We are confident that it will render fresh impetus to the further ascending development of Bulgaro-Greek relations, to consolidation of peace and friendship on the Balkan peninsula", added he.

"I consider it our duty to declare to you once again that Bulgaria pursues a consistent and constructive policy of understanding and cooperation with all her neighbours", said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

"We are confident that making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone corresponds to the vital interests of all Balkan peoples and will contribute to making the international climate healthier, to turning gradually Europe into a continent without nuclear weapons. To this very idea, to these goals serves our proposal to organize a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan states in Sofia".

The Bulgarian leader spoke in favour of some urgent political steps, which can assist the relaxation of present international tension, the advancement of the process of detente.

He said that Bulgaria assesses as particularly important the obligation undertaken by the Soviet Union for not using the nuclear weapons first. She hails the Soviet-American agreement to start in Geneva negotiations on the reduction of the strategical arms due to open after a couple of days.

"We hope that the second special UN session on disarmament will contribute to curbing the growing nuclear threat", Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

He also noted that peace is gravely threatened by the hotbeds of tension and dangerous armed conflicts in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Central America, some parts of Africa, etc. "We are for the immediate halting of the bloodsheds and the settling of the outstanding issues in a peaceful way", stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov.

He emphasized again that the peaceful, just and lasting settling of the Cyprus issue can be achieved only by preserving the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of Cyprus, with respect for the interests of the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots.

In his speech the prime minister of Greece, Mr Andreas Papandreou, underlined the great merits of Mr Todor Zhivkov for laying out the foundations of the friendship, cooperation and goodneighbourliness between Bulgaria and Greece.

He pointed out the contribution of Yeoryios Papandreou and of Konstandinos Karamanlis to the promotion of Greek-Bulgarian relations.

Mr Andreas Papandreou underlined that the new Socialist government of Greece will decisively influence the internal and foreign policy of that country. He noted that the possibilities for the development of the ties between Greece and Bulgaria in all spheres of life are much greater now than in the past. We expect to sign an agreement which will contribute in a qualitatively new aspect to the furthering of contacts between Bulgaria and Greece, said he. He pointed out that the goodneighbourliness and friendship between Bulgaria and Greece are a contribution to detente and peace in the Balkans and Europe.

Mr Andreas Papandreou said further that when two countries, one from the East and the other from the West, maintain relations, friendship and cooperation as Bulgaria and Greece -- this is a great contribution to detente and peace.

### Dinner Held in Varna

AU251918 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Khristo Toshkov, mayor of Varna, tonight gave an official dinner at the Varna VIP Hotel in honor of Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, who is paying an official friendly visit to Bulgaria. Present were Todor Zhivkov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of Varna Okrug party committee; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee; representatives of the Varna public; Bulgarian and Greek officials; and the ambassadors of the two countries, Nikolay Todorov and Andonis Nomikos.

### Varna Statements

AU261641 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 26 /BTA/ -- Mr Todor Zhivkov is extremely pleased with his talking with Greece's Prime Minister Mr Andreas Papandreou. Today, after the close of the three-day Bulgaro-Greek talks the Bulgarian leader emphasized: "We are happy with the outcome of this visit, with everything we attained in discussing the state of and prospects to bilateral relations, with debating problems of the presentday international development".

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou warmly backed up the idea of converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

"We are deeply convinced that the fulfilment of this idea here, on our peninsula, will be of great importance not only for the Balkans but for Europe and the world as well", Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed emphasizing their shared view with Mr Andreas Papandreou that there exist real conditions for this idea to come true.

"We know", the Bulgarian top leader said, "that a nuclear-free zone here, in the Balkans, or in some other part of Europe will not settle the global problem of averting a thermo-nuclear war, but this will be a crucial step forward in realizing the idea to turn Europe in general into a nuclear-free zone".

Stressing that the stands of the Bulgarian Government and of the Greek Government on the problems of nuclear armament are identical, Mr Andreas Papandreou stated that to the best of her possibilities Greece will make efforts to lead the Balkans to a nuclear-free zone.

Mr Papandreou assured that the Greek Government, in close cooperation with the Bulgarian Government, will make efforts to lay the foundations of a procedure which would lead to Balkans free from nuclear weapons.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou emphasized the merits of Bulgarian and Greek state and political figures for the development of cooperation and friendship between the two countries and peoples.

"I cannot but stress that our post-war cooperation and friendship began in 1964 when chairman of the Council of Ministers was the great Greek statesman and world-famous political and state figure Mr Yeoryios Papandreou", Mr Todor Zhivkov noted. "I cannot but also stress the great merit of my respected friend Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis. He has his share in this. My friends and I have become convinced once again how an ardent champion of developing Bulgaro-Greek relations Prime Minister Mr Andreas Papandreou is".

Mr Andreas Papandreou said that Mr Todor Zhivkov will undoubtedly go down in the Greek history as the Bulgarian leader who really laid the beginning of a long-term cooperation. He joined Mr Todor Zhivkov's estimation of Mr Georgius Papandreou's merits and emphasized the extraordinary contribution after 1974 of present President Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis. Mr Papandreou stressed: "I consider my contribution as a continuation of those efforts which began 18 years ago".

## Document Signed

AU261539 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 26 /BTA/ -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou, after closing their talks in the town of Varna, signed a programme for further development of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece. The document provides for deepening the relations in industry, power generation, transport, agriculture and trade.

In their statements at the press conference held afterwards the two leaders assessed the programme as a document of extraordinary importance for the deepening of the economic relations of the two countries.

Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized: "You can see it for yourselves that everything we achieved in our talks on bilateral matters defines yet another much more fruitful stage in the development of Bulgaro-Greek relations and friendship".

Mr Andreas Papandreou said: "We have made, if I can put it this way, a map of all those spheres in which we could establish the closest cooperation. And this is why I consider the agreement we signed as a range pole and also as a starting point for a new greater extending of our relations in all spheres".

## Communique Issued

AU261528 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 26 Jun 82

["Bulgaro-Greek Communique" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 26 /BTA/ -- Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou are determined to work for consolidating the trust, security, cooperation and peace in the Balkans, reads the communique on the talks they held here, June 24 through 26.

The two leaders think that the initiative for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weaponry meets with the interests of all Balkan peoples, is contributing to healing the international climate and the gradual converting of Europe into a continent without nuclear weapons.

Noting the positive results achieved in Balkan relations, Mr Zhivkov and Mr Papandreou have stressed again the need for further efforts to consolidate the climate of goodneighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of the Balkan countries and the cause of peace and security in the region. They have agreed to promote, side by side with bilateral cooperation, the multilateral one on matters of mutual interest in those spheres where there is a possibility and consent for it.

Expressing their concern over the Cyprus crisis having not been settled yet, the two parties to the talks have agreed that respecting the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus in accordance with the respective UN resolutions, as well as the withdrawal of all foreign troops, is a solid foundation for a just and permanent settling of the Cyprus issue.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou condemn Israel's aggression on Lebanon. They have again confirmed their countries' stance that an overall, just and permanent settling of the Middle East problem can be attained only through Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories captured in 1967, through restoring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination including their right to founding their own state, as well as ensuring the security of all states in the region. The two leaders spoke in favour of PLO participating in any negotiations on solving the Middle East crisis.

It is emphasized in the communique that Bulgaria and Greece back up any efforts for preserving the process of detente, for halting the arms competition and for disarmament, for consolidating the peace and security in the world and for doing away with the hotbeds of tension.

They consider it necessary to proceed from tension and confrontation to negotiations on all controversial issues in international relations at respecting the norms of international law and the UN Charter.

The two parties to the talks are in favour of halting the arms race and of disarmament both in the nuclear and the conventional sphere on the basis of equality and equal security for all countries, in order to achieve absolute and general disarmament under strict and efficacious international control.

They will assist in the positive outcome of the second special UN General Assembly session on disarmament in the interest of peace and international security.

The hope is also expressed that the talks on the limitation and curbing the strategic nuclear weapons as well as the talks on restricting the nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe will end up successfully.

Reviewing some pressing international matters Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou have found with satisfaction that the range of problems on which the two sides hold identical or similar stands is expanding.

Concerning bilateral relations they have also found with satisfaction that the relations of good-neighbourliness, understanding and cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece are laid on a solid basis in the interest of the two peoples, are an important factor of consolidating peace and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans and are an example of relations between states belonging to different social systems.

Emphasizing the importance of the summits for the ascending development of bilateral relations between states, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou express their desire that these meetings continue in future too.

They think that the stepped up introduction of new forms of economic cooperation on the basis of long-term agreements on cooperation, delivery of complete projects, setting up joint ventures in both countries and in third countries as well, will give a great impetus to the further overall development of the two countries' economic relations.

## Papandreou News Conference

NC261655 Athens TO VIMA in Greek 26 Jun 82 p 1

[By special correspondent Panos Loukakos]

[Excerpts] Varna, 25 June -- Today, the second day of the Greek-Bulgarian talks in Varna, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou was given the opportunity to clarify fully the government's position on the question of nuclear weapons ("We are not going to accept any schedule for nuclear weapons"). At the same time, there was a new confirmation today of the friendship and intention for close cooperation (economic, technological) between the two countries.

After his talks with State Council Chairman Zhivkov today, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou met with the political editors who are accompanying him on his visit. During the discussions that followed, the prime minister referred to more general issues in addition to the Greek-Bulgarian questions.

Specifically, his particular reference to the relations with Turkey ("We have actively promoted the moratorium, and I hope it will be realized so that in the future we may devote our efforts to the country's economic development") acquires special significance, because the leader of the Turkish regime, General Evren, recently visited Sofia and held talks on the Greek-Turkish dispute. Greek-Turkish relations, however, were also discussed today at the Papandreou-Zhivkov meeting. Of course, the prime minister said, Bulgaria does not take any position in Greek-Turkish affairs. Mr Papandreou has not referred to the specific content of his talks with Mr Zhivkov on these affairs.

The main points of Mr Papandreou's statement to Greek journalists, made after his meeting with State Council Chairman Zhivkov, are as follows:

--Nuclear Weapons: We are not going to accept any schedule for nuclear weapons, because we are not playing with dolls but with the country's security. Every move on the chess-board is complicated and has multifaceted repercussions. For this reason every step must be sound and prudent. Our intention has not changed; and we say this because we care about the Greek nation's survival. The Greek Government reserves the right and option to proceed with the nuclear weapons issue whenever and in whatever way it decides. We hold a common position with Mr Zhivkov on the question of nuclear weapons, but there are variations and different shades in the stand of certain Balkan countries. In any case, the question of nuclear arms is not connected with the Greek-U.S. negotiations on the bases.

--Greek-Bulgarian Relations: From the day State Council Chairman Zhivkov assumed the leadership of the country, there has not been even a hint of a territorial problem between Greece and Bulgaria either in the form of a Macedonian issue or in the form of passage to the Aegean, as was the case in the past. The Karamanlis-Zhivkov friendship consolidates more resolutely the warm Greek-Bulgarian relations, and Bulgaria has already offered to absorb 50 percent of Greek exports and develop our economic relations at all levels.

### Talks Concluded

AU261244 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] The closing talks between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, were held at the Golden Sands residence in Varna today. Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and the officials accompanying the Greek prime minister also attended the talks.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou signed a long-term program for further developing the economic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece.

At a press conference held a short while ago with Bulgarian and Greek journalists, Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, made statements [words indistinct] on the state and prospects for the development of the relations between our countries and peoples which is a great contribution to peace in the Balkans and in the world.

## KUWAITI FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES 27 JUNE

AU271920 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 27 /BTA/ -- Today Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, Kuwaiti deputy prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs arrived on an official visit to Bulgaria. At the Sofia airport he was welcomed by Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign minister and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and by other top officials.

### Ministers Condemn Israel

AU271947 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA) -- Bulgaria and Kuwait condemned sharply the Israeli aggression on Lebanon. The two countries' resolute stand was expressed by Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign minister and by Sheikh Sabbah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, deputy prime-minister and minister of foreign affairs and information of Kuwait.

The foreign ministers stressed the necessity of active measures for curbing the aggression and withdrawing the Israeli troops from the territory of Lebanon. Unanimous was the view that the escalation of the tension in the Middle East makes the question related to all the Arab peoples in their struggle for defending the Arab cause a decisive one.

## ZHIVKOV SENDS GREETINGS TO MOZAMBIQUE'S MACHEL

AU241932 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 24 (BTA) -- Mr Todor Zhivkov has sent a cable of greetings to Mr Samora Machel on the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Mozambique and the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique -- Frelimo.

Bulgaria holds in high esteem the consistently conducted anti-imperialist foreign policy of Frelimo and the Government of Mozambique and the active support they render to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence. She holds in high esteem their growing international authority and their active contribution to the struggle against colonialism, racism, apartheid, their efforts at the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world, reads the cable in part.

Conviction is expressed in the telegram that the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Frelimo Party, between Bulgaria and Mozambique resting upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will continue to strengthen in the best interests and to the benefit of the two peoples, in the interests of their common struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces, for the victory of the high ideals of peace and socialism.

## AGREEMENT WITH COLOMBIAN TRADE UNIONS SIGNED

AU252009 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA) -- The official talks between the delegations of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and of the Colombian Confederation of Workers ended here today by signing an agreement on the development of bilateral relations and cooperation for the 1982-1984 period.

During his visit to Bulgaria Mr (Pastor Perez), the confederation's chairman and Mr (Angelino Garzon), its secretary general, had talks with the delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian TU, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. There was confirmed the determination of the two countries' organizations to give their active contribution to the fulfilment of the decisions of the 10th congress of the trade unions to help the uniting of the ranks of the progressive trade unionist movement in the whole world. The idea for convening an international meeting-dialogue on the theme "The Trade Unions and Peace" in Sofia in 1983 was backed up.

## TRADE UNIONS COUNCIL MEETING HELD 19 JUNE

AU232030 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The second plenum of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council was held on 19 June in Sofia and adopted the following agenda: Discussion and adoption of a working program of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on implementing the Ninth Trade Union Congress decisions and the tasks stemming from the speech which Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered at the congress; approval and establishment of committees and a council to be attached to the Trade Unions Central Council, and their composition.

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, spoke on the first item of the agenda. After the debates took place, the plenum adopted a decision approving the working program of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on implementing the Ninth Congress Decisions and on the tasks stemming from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech at the congress.

The plenum unanimously released Comrade Chavdar Beyazov from the staff of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council Bureau because of his transfer to other work. Comrade Krustyu Petkov, director of the Georgi Dimitrov Scientific Research Institute, was elected member of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council Bureau in his place.

## ZAREV-LED BCP DELEGATION LEAVES FOR LCY CONGRESS

AU252006 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA) -- A delegation of the CC of the BCP led by Mr Kiril Zarev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, left today to attend the 12th Congress of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia.

## COMMENT ON REAGAN SPEECH, BREZHNEV MESSAGE TO UN

AU221519 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 June carries on page 7 a 750-word Washington dispatch by Dusan Rovensky, entitled "On Reagan's UN Speech; In the Spirit of the Cold War." The author says that R. Reagan had "abused the authoritative international forum" for "anti-Soviet and anticommunist sallies, for attacks against international detente and for justifying his policy, which is increasing the danger of a war conflict." After noting that Reagan had used "the language of the cold war," the author says that he "divulged what he was actually after when he attacked the very foundations of international detente and failed to reply to the Soviet peace initiative expressed" in the USSR's "commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons." After comparing the U.S. and USSR behavior to disprove Reagan's claim that the United States had never been an aggressor and is now striving for an armament reduction, the author blames the United States for driving the SALT and other disarmament talks into a blind alley and for rejecting the USSR's renunciation of the use of nuclear arms "literally a few hours after its announcement."

The author then notes the discrepancy between increasing U.S. armament expenditures and "open U.S. threats to other states to use nuclear arms against them (such as to the USSR, Yugoslavia, Korea, Egypt, Cuba, Iran and Vietnam)" on the one hand, and Reagan's efforts in the United Nations to "create the impression that his government is concerned with reducing nuclear armament" on the other.

"And why is the Reagan government refusing to adopt the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons? Why is it refusing to react positively to the Soviet initiative? It is doing this," the dispatch states, "because it is preparing the 'first nuclear strike' against the USSR and other socialist countries," as is proved by the U.S. production of nuclear submarines, bombers and missiles, by its realization of the ELF nuclear submarine communications system and other actions, the dispatch concludes.

On 21 June RUDE PRAVO carries on page 6 a 900-word commentary in the column "We Comment," entitled "Words and Deeds." After noting that President Reagan had come out with the "zero option" -- which "demands unilateral USSR disarmament and weakening and the acquisition of military supremacy for the United States and NATO" -- only after registering the loss of public sympathy owing to his militant talk, Porybny points out that this zero option idea has been used since by the United States in the SALT and Vienna talks. He goes on to say that Reagan's UN speech contained "in essence nothing" from this viewpoint, since he has failed to reply to Brezhnev's message and to its commitment, or to proposals submitted by Gromyko, thus missing "the historical opportunity for realistically strengthening the hope of a final frustration of the possibility of an outbreak of a nuclear war."

Porybny then mentions the strengthening peace movement in the United States; the fact that only the United States has the neutron bomb; and that the change of the White House vocabulary 7 months ago has not yet meant a change in its policy, even though it indicates a "certain shift in the way its current inhabitants are thinking." "A mere agreement to negotiate" with the USSR is insufficient; it must be followed by a "political will for peace, by a grasp of the realities of the nuclear era and by a serious search for new ways and approaches to eliminate the nuclear threat," Porybny adds, noting that Brezhnev's message is permeated by all this.

Porybny then urges Reagan to apply his own words co his own policy -- the words on the need for more than promises and words -- since 'then it would certainly be possible to progress on the path of peace. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have expressed their will to follow this path very clearly, and earler than 7 months ago," he states, concluding that it is now Reagan's turn.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 June carries on page 1 a 1,600-word editorial entitled "In the Confrontation of Words and Deeds."

After elaborating at length on the need to free the world from the danger of destruction, the editorial quotes from Brezhnev's message to the United Nations and its commitment, and from Gromyko's speech in the same forum, adding: "The Soviet Union has already issued repeated appeals in the past, submitting specific proposals in this respect and suggesting that states which have nuclear arms at their disposal should jointly pledge themselves not to be the first to use them. The USSR has encountered a lack of understanding and a rejection on the part of the NATO pact states. In this connection one must emphatically point out that, were the nuclear states generally to adopt the same commitment as the Soviet Union, this would mean a complete and unconditional ban on the use of nuclear weapons; and this would inevitably also mean an open way to agreements on their gradual liquidation.

"On the other hand the United States has been constantly adhering to the doctrine that it is its own right and the right of the NATO pact to decide whether nuclear weapons would be used in case of war; it has been claiming the right to be the first to use these arms and thus to cast the world into a general nuclear ruin. However, several outstanding political figures in the United States itself have recently called this approach to the matter incorrect and untenable," the editorial points out.

After mentioning the strengthening peace movement in Europe and the United States, the editorial continues: "Under the pressure of an enormous wave of indignation over the present course of his government, Ronald Reagan has recently begun to talk increasingly about peace. However, his words have so far not been followed by any deeds which would convince us about their serious nature. The complete opposite is true," the editorial maintains. "Although the U.S. President is necessarily creating the impression -- at least at present -- that he has changed his opinion on how to publicly propagate his policy, he nevertheless has not changed his opinion on the substance of this policy. His acts convict him. His proposals on the so-called limitation and reduction of nuclear arms are obviously aimed at creating the impression among the uninitiated that the President is really striving to considerably cut down the number of these arms. But the initiated in the United States protested the very moment Reagan's proposals were announced; it was all too obvious to them that the American side is again replying to the need of a real deed with a mere propaganda maneuver."

After noting that the United States is acting as Israel's "protector, organizer and supplier" in the conflict with Lebanon, and after quoting CSSR Foreign Minister Chnoupek on the need for specific disarmament deeds, the editorial concludes: "Together with the other countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union is unceasingly and most intensely realizing these specific, positive deeds. We are not letting ourselves be confused by attacks against peace or by demagogic performances. We are answering mankind's needs specifically and with full responsibility. We are convinced that, together with all people of good will, people who are increasingly concentrating on positive deeds, we will open up the correct and only possible way out of this historic crossroads."

## CHNOUPEK COMMENTS ON INHUMANE WEAPONS CONVENTION

LD232016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] At today's joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, deputies discussed and approved a governmental draft of the convention signed in New York last year on prohibiting or restricting the use of certain so-called inhumane conventional weapons. An expose on this important international convention was delivered by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs. In the beginning of his expose, the comrade minister said Czechoslovak foreign policy, like that of other socialist countries, consistently pursues the aim of securing worldwide peace and pushing through concrete disarmament measures. This was clearly demonstrated at the United Nations General Assembly second special session on disarmament. Our active participation on achieving agreement on this convention is an expression of this policy. In this connection, Comrade Chnoupek said:

[Begin recording] We are striving to bring about the biggest restriction of these wapons and their elimination from the arsenals of individual states.

We are thus demonstrating in practice our readiness to achieve agreements on restricting and eliminating any kind of weapons -- naturally, on the basis of equality and equal security. We stressed this unequivocally in the stance adopted during the general debate, having in particular endorsed the new Soviet proposals and, above all, the Soviet Union's solemn pledge of histroic importance contained in Comrade Brezhnev's message addressed to the second special session that the Soviet Union will not be first to use nuclear weapons. That decision, as Comrade Gromyko underlined in New York the other day, will be written in gold letters in the (?the annals of history).

Another concrete demonstration of our stance was and is our active participation in reaching agreement on the convention of prohibiting or restricting the use of certain conventional weapons that may be envisaged to cause excessive sufferings or have a blanket effect. The convention and the protocols appended to it were agreed at diplomatic conferences under UN auspices in 1979 and 1980. The socialist states made a significant contribution to ensuring the positive final version of this document, primarily in that the document, following (?existing) international rules, further restricts the freedom of selection of the means and methods of conducting military operations and reinforces the protection of the civilian population in armed conflicts. The socialist states have thus supported the disarmament ramifications of the convention, connected with the prohibition of certain kinds of conventional weapons.

The convention and the protocols appended relate to all kinds of armed conflicts which may arise between two or more sides. They also cover armed struggle by nations in realizing their right to self-determination against colonial domination, against foreign occupation and against racist regimes. They significantly restrict the possibility of using land mines and incendiary devices and fully prohibit the use in combat of all kinds of weapons whose basic effect is to cause injuries by fragments that cannot be detected in human bodies by x-rays. This means bullets or grenades which have been designed and produced entirely or mainly of plastic, glass, wood or similar materials and whose atomic structure excludes x-ray detection and which result in difficult, lengthy and very dangerous removal of them from human bodies.

True, the adopted document does not restrict itself merely to the enumeration of concrete prohibitions and restrictions. It also imposes on the contracting parties the duty to disseminate the provisions of the convention and the appended protocols among their populations, particularly within the ranks of their armed forces. It also establishes a procedure for convening conferences to review and amend the working of the document, thus creating prerequisites for the practical observation of the prohibitions and restrictions and for further progress in the gradual restriction of especially inhumane conventional weapons.

The conclusion of this contractual document is in keeping with the principled and unwavering efforts of the socialist states aimed at limiting armaments and at disarmament. We regard it as a useful and good step and we support it. Together with other socialist states we agreed to sign (?this document).

After the Soviet Union, which has already become a contractual part to the convention and the protocols appended, we, together with our other allies, are also preparing ratification measures and we are among the first to do so. [end recording]

## COOPERATION WITH USSR PRAISED AT PEACE RALLY

LD272340 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] A peace rally was held at Vratne near Zilina today. It was attended by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. In his speech he highlighted Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the Soviet Union which enables the country to develop smoothly its national economy and to tackle key questions of scientific and technological development. It helps Czechoslovakia to acquire progressive technology, raw and production materials and energy.

Afterward Comrade Hruskovic dealt with topical issues of the current international situation. The strategy of imperialism, he said, which is directed against the forces of socialism, progress and peace has a global character and is broadly conceived. The development, however, shows that imperialism is failing to carry through these designs. Imperialism is failing to weaken socialism and halt the national liberation movement.

At the close he stressed that the stronger and more consolidated our socialist homeland and the other countries of the socialist community are, the firmer will be the guarantee of peace in the world.

## CPCZ DELEGATION LEAVES FOR LCY CONGRESS

LD251550 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] At the invitation of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, led by Karel Hoffmann, member of its Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, flew to Belgrade today. The delegation will take part in the activities of the 12th LCY Congress.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the party Central Committee, Frantisek Pitra.

## TRADE, PAYMENTS AGREEMENT WITH AFGHANISTAN

LD251618 Prague CTK in English 1503 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Prague [no date or agency as received] -- A new Czechoslovak-Afghan agreement on trade and payments was signed here on Friday, at the close of talks between Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban and Afghan Minister of Mines and Industries Mohammad Esma'il Danesh.

Both sides expressed interest in promoting economic and trade relations and the Afghan side was in particular interested in the continuation of Czechoslovak-Afghan cooperation in the construction of power engineering projects, cement works and the mining industry.

In addition to supplies of equipment for the mentioned branches, Czechoslovakia delivers to that country building and road construction machinery, lorries and diesel generators. It also trains Afghan experts. Afghanistan supplies Czechoslovakia with cotton, raisins, hides, textiles and raw materials for the textile, food and leather industries.

## POLICE ROUND UP TUZEX COUPON 'SPECULATORS'

AU221209 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 18 Jun 82 p 3

["COP"-signed report: "Round-up Before Tuzex Stores"]

[Text] A total of 17 speculators were escorted to public security's various Prague departments yesterday. This was the result of an action organized by members of the public security corps yesterday, aimed at hard currency-related criminal activity and speculation with Tuzex coupons. The action took place in all Prague boroughs. Besides apprehending the speculators, public security corps members confiscated [zajistit] Kcs44,000 and Kcs5,000 in Tuzex coupons and smaller sums in U.S. dollars and West German marks.

## DAILY: NO RETURN TO 'PRIVATE ENTERPRISE'

AU241311 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial article by Jaroslav Hejkal: "Topic of the Day"]

[Excerpts] "There, you see, I was right," an acquaintance told me, "there is nothing left but to revert to private tradesmen...." From his tone I again sensed a good deal of past petty bourgeois malice. In the same way I can quote a comrade who let himself be heard at a citizens' meeting in our housing settlement: "Why is private enterprise again permitted in our advanced socialist society when we can be glad that the germs of capitalism no longer exist here? This is the road back."

These are two extreme opinions following the sixth CPCZ Central Committee session, which devoted its attention to the national committees' tasks following the 16th party congress. Since the bearers of these opinions obviously do not stand alone, it will do no harm to ask about the real situation with regard to conclusions adopted for further developing paid services for the population.

A national committee must, above all, responsibly cope with a well-known problem existing in most local national economy enterprises: The planned indexes are usually fulfilled not in work done for the citizens directly, but rather in activities for other socialist organizations. It will greatly depend on the national committee officials who must consistently see to it that these organizations serve the people and the satisfaction of their everyday needs, and that the people's satisfaction is regarded as the main criterion for the activity of these organizations. A number of shortcomings which existed in this sphere had been caused by central planning and management.

The conclusions of the sixth CPCZ Central Committee session also direct national committees toward applying other forms, permitted by law more than 10 years ago, in those places where it is too demanding and economically ineffective to secure services and repair work for the citizens by making use of already existing socialist enterprises. The forms in question are, for instance, small local workshops under national committee suppervision, or their lease to retired people, housewives, or citizens who want to provide these services in addition to their main job. If it is a matter of services in branches where there is a lack of them, or in places where they cannot be sufficiently provided, the national committees may even permit individuals to pursue such activities as their main job. In other words, it is not at all some kind of "going back," nor is it a renewal of an element that could hamper our further socialist social and economic advance.

## RUDE PRAVO SCORES SHORTCOMINGS IN MEDICAL CARE

AU241207 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "National Committees and Health Care"]

[Excerpts] Last year we spent Kcs22 billion on health care. This is no small amount, especially if we compare for instance the expenditures with those in 1961 when they amounted to Kcs6 billion. We also devoted attention to cadre training, so that we now have one medical doctor per 309 citizens; 25 years ago the figure was 1 to more than 700 citizens. We have also succeeded in increasing the number of beds in health institutions from 99 beds per 10,000 citizens at the beginning of the 'fifties to 125 beds now.

Nevertheless there is criticism of our health care, and it must be said that frequently this criticism is justified. According to statistical data, the number of medical doctors' posts in out-patient wards per 10,000 citizens increased more than 60 percent during the last 20 years.

One could suppose that this fact alone should help improve services for outpatients. However, it cannot be said that this is the case everywhere. In many waiting rooms of the medical consulting rooms the patients have to wait for hours. There are also long waiting lists for hospitalization, although here, too, the number of medical doctors and beds at their disposal has increased. However, according to statistics, a considerable number of beds is out of circulation -- for various reasons, such as the reconstruction of the hospital or a lack of nurses and other staff. The situation has been unpleasant these several years in the capital Prague, where almost 9 percent of the beds are unoccupied. On the whole, more than 4,000 beds are, on the average, out of circulation every day in the Czech Socialist Republic.

A lot is being said about bribery in health care. This was also mentioned at the CPCZ Central Committee session in the sense that this kind of abuse harms the name of our socialist health care as well as the overwhelming majority of people working in it, people who are doing devoted and enormously meritorious work for the people's health and to whom high appreciation is due. Not everything that is being said is also true.

## PREPARATIONS FOR 1982 SLOVAK HARVEST DISCUSSED

AU241303 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 23 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Eng Eugen Nemeth, deputy minister of agriculture and food of the Slovak Socialist Republic: "The Goal Is Clear -- Minimal Losses"]

[Summary] This year, plant production in Slovakia should be 17.8 percent higher than last year. The planned production of grain crops alone is 3.8 million tons, including corn. This task has been made even more difficult by the lack of moisture and low temperatures in the spring, which have had a negative impact on crops. "This year, farmers will harvest grain crops, excluding corn, from an area of 715,000 hectares. Last fall, winter rape was sown on 31,725 hectares, which was 3,325 hectares more than planned. However, due to the unfavorable winter, 8,121 hectares have had to be plowed under in the spring. Since the remaining area sown with rape includes relatively weak crops, a lower rape harvest is expected. Legumes will be harvested from 40,500 hectares."

In preparing this year's grain harvest, we must take into account the present state of the crops, which are thinner and have a shorter stalk than in the past. The harvest and the follow-up field work will have to be carried out quickly and with minimal losses. This will require the transfer of harvesting combines within the framework of districts, regions and the republics. Some districts of the east and central Slovak regions also organize the cooperative exchange of harvesting combines with the Zakarpatskaya Oblast of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic.

This year the Slovak agricultural enterprises will have at their disposal 5,436 harvesting combines of their own, plus some 3,000 combines transferred within the framework of cooperation agreements. This help will make it possible to reduce the area to be harvested by every combine from 131.5 hectares to 103.9 hectares. The state of the agricultural machinery is better than last year but not all of it has been repaired as yet. The main reason is the lack of spare parts for both domestically produced and imported machinery. "Even though the agricultural enterprises placed their orders for spare parts in good time, their supply by the Agrotechnika organization is unsatisfactory. The situation is most complicated as regards the supply of spare parts for machinery imported from the GDR -- windrowers of the E-301 type and cutters of the E-280 type, for which some spare parts are totally lacking. Yet we also lack spare parts for the harvesting technology -- the [GDR-produced] E-516 and E-512 combines. However, shortcomings in ensuring the need for spare parts also concern other types of machinery, both imported and domestically produced."

This year, stubblefield mixtures must be sown on 130,000 hectares -- 67,000 in west Slovakia, 23,000 in central Slovakia and 33,000 in east Slovakia. There are enough seeds for this purpose, enough to sow these crops on 150,000 hectares.

## EDITORIAL DISCUSSES SKILLED SERVICES PROSPECTS

AU241131 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Services Are Meant To Serve"]

[Excerpts] An analysis of individual types of paid services has shown that there has been a certain improvement in dry-cleaning, barbers' and hairdressers' services as well as in photo services. In the cities there has also been an improvement as regards repairs of television and radio sets, washing machines and some other household appliances.

On the other hand, grave shortcomings persist as regards repairs of footwear and garments and the range and promptness of various types of skilled handiwork -- the services of plumbers, heating installation experts, slaters, bricklayers and others. In a number of localities there is no facility ensuring the repair of sports equipment, baby carriages, umbrellas and so forth. In public catering, there is a considerable number of enterprises and establishments that are at loggerheads with hygiene as well as with the quality of meals and service and with the observance of set prices.

The April session of our party's Central Committee carried out an in-depth analysis of the causes of the unsatisfactory situation and showed the ways leading to its remedy.

They lie in simplifying the entire and still very complicated system of management and planning, in credit and tax instruments, in establishing conditions for the more flexible management of services and in providing more effective economic incentives and applying them more broadly for the benefit of the broadest possible range of citizens. The limitation of the sometimes severely overblown administration connected with services will also significantly contribute to this.

It is, after all, illogical and does not yield any benefit for the citizens when even the very smallest service facilities and repair shops are run according to the same binding indices as large industrial enterprises. The more time the enployees of public services devote to administrative work ensuing from this system of management, the less time they can then devote to their customers.

Some people see the lease and establishment of various private tradesman workshops as the only way to improve the quality of services. This is a very narrow and one-sided view. Even though in a number of localities a certain improvement in satisfying some public needs has already been achieved with their help, the key role -- today and in the future -- is and will be played by socialist enterprises and organizations. After all, the 700,000 people working in this field represent a considerable economic and political force.

The point at issue today is to make the best possible use of this force for the benefit of the further socialist development of our economy and, above all, for the benefit of the inhabitants of our cities and villages.

## EDITORIAL CRITICIZES BUILDING INDUSTRY LEADERSHIP

AU241906 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "To Measure Abilities by the Results"]

[Excerpts] In such extensive production complexes in our national economy as the building industry, nothing changes overnight.

It is therefore understandable that the complicated and problematic situation that reached a climax last year in this branch was also the result of shortcomings which had been progressing and deepening step by step.

We know about the consequences. We measured them in thousands of uncompleted and uncommissioned apartments, in the belated commissioning of many important production facilities and socially needed special-purpose facilities, and so forth. Due to the serious and urgent nature of the situation in the building industry, it was also dealt with this year by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party and the CSSR Government. Various measures, conclusions and formulated tasks now demand that the responsible workers of our building industry step up their struggle for overcoming the current shortcomings and raise the activity of this branch to the level of the current needs of national economy and of the development of our society.

This is no easy task. But the main thing is that every enterprise must start pushing it through step by step; that the activity of the entire branch must improve.

The time has come to take stock of the results of this half year. At the beginning of this year, the frost thwarted the builders' plans. In the following months they therefore adopted corresponding measures, which were also stressed at the coordination conferences of economic production units. Without running ahead of the official results of this half year, it must be said that the development to date prompts us to draw certain conclusions and to reflect on things. It appears that not everybody will be entering the second half of the year without debts, that not everybody will be able to say that the intentions and measures adopted several months ago have been carried out.

We must critically recall the unhealthy practices of last year, when quite a few enterprises continued their efforts to cover up the true situation up to the very end of the year. They promised in August, and again in September, and, in order to keep the higher bodies satisfied, they adopted further "effective" measures for fulfilling the measures already adopted. As late as December they predicted a more favorable conclusion of the year, until the end of the year tore off their mask of barren promises. Such approaches testify to a lack of willingness to delve to the root of things, to the unwillingness of certain workers to give up a conflict-free life at any price. This approach is a matter of concern, it is graver than the complicated and exacting nature of the tasks themselves. Because, if a person draws back into the trenches of routine, if he entrenches himself there and surrounds himself with people of his own kind, then it will scarcely apply to his sector that he who wants something searches for a solution.... Without this searching attitude, without the resolve to embark on new and untried paths and the effort to push things at least one step forward, there can be no change for the better. That is why it is necessary to analyze in detail whether the nonfulfillment of tasks is really caused by the complicated nature of the production tasks, or whether it is caused by constantly catching up with things out of breath.

Things are never totally black or white. They must be assessed comprehensively; but they must also be reacted to by cadre and staff work in all organizations, on all levels. The employees who prove by their deeds that they are able, who search for and find ways to resolve tasks, must be given scope and opportunity to prove to the fullest extent what they can and want to succeed in doing for the benefit of the matter. This also means to pay increased attention particularly to the work of young leading staff, to notice and assess in time their abilities, not to leave them unnoticed in the second or third line, but to boldly place them in the center of events. The familiar slogan from the times of our building the youth track -- we build the track, the track builds us -- is also valid today, when objectively the time has come to prudently replace certain executives in the building industry, since they are not marching with the times, and since it is scarcely possible to cope with the new tasks in practice without a new way of thinking.

Today we have employees in many outstanding posts who, as we say, are older than their years. True, age cannot be an indiscriminate yardstick and the only criterion in evaluating cadres.

For instance, we have a ground construction enterprise with a director who is over 60 years old. But the activities and results achieved by the enterprise prove that it is headed by a man who is young in his thinking, because he keeps in step with all that is new and progressive. But in many other executive posts we have employees who cannot cope, and not only due to their age. Life itself confronts us with the question of the humane nature of our cadre-staff work in these instances.

The matter concerns human beings, and one must proceed in a humane way. Many workers accomplished a great deal for the development of our building industry during the decades of their work; and if today they cannot cope with their tasks, they cannot be written off with a dash of the pen. Their past merits must not be forgotten. But in the interests of the social goals to which they themselves had consecrated their lives, one must speak with them, convince them of the inevitability of the ascension of younger people. To act sensitively in such cases does not mean to act supercautiously, to fear a frank talk face to face. Surely everybody living with the interests of further social progress must grasp that it is inhumane to risk society's interests because of an individual. Because it will be no easy task to master the problems of our building industry, to get it to the path of intensification. Its fulfillment requires skillful and politically mature cadres in decisive executive posts.

The decisive field of cadre and staff work is the preparation of employees for the lowest, but simultaneously most significant, management link -- the foremen. In many instances this task is insufficiently understood; it is restricted to mere training or complementary training. But the issue is that this decisive management link in the production process must be staffed by professionally and organizationally able people. In this respect much is still to be done.

One of the causes of the current weakening of the lowest management link is, in the general opinion, the underrating of this function in terms of wages. But in reality, there exists every prerequisite for paying these workers correspondingly according to the importance of their position. Authoritative workers point out that foremen may be accorded a personal salary, which may be more than 50 percent higher than the highest level of their grade. True, every person must deserve such high remuneration by the results of his work. But practice shows us that there are not many foremen who have a right to such a high remuneration. This means that the cadre preparation and staffing of this decisive management level must stand in the center of attention, and that the recognition of the best ones in terms of wages must go hand in hand with this, according to merit.

## 'PEACE FORCES' MARK LIDICE ANNIVERSARY 18 JUNE

AU231134 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jun 82 p 2

[CTK report: "To Deepen Links Between the Peace Forces; International Seminar on the 40th Anniversary of the Destruction of Lidice"]

[Text] Kladno (CTK) -- Under the slogan "For Understanding Among Nations, for Reinforcing Trust, for Disarmament," an international seminar was held in Kladno yesterday marking the 40th anniversary of the destruction of Lidice. The seminar was sponsored by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters in cooperation with the International Christian Peace Conference.

It was attended by representatives of churces, anti-fascist forces and members of progressive trade union and youth organizations from the CSSR, Hungarian People's Republic, GDR, FRG and USSR. The participants included L. Mirejovsky, secretary general of the Christian peace conference, J. Michalko, bishop general of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church and member of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, and H.W. Franke, Bremen senator for science and arts.

Within the framework of the seminar, a meeting was held between its participants and representatives of the Kladno District National Committee and K. Hruza, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. He assured those present that the Czechoslovak Government will support their noble peace efforts. In their individual reports and in the rich discussion, the representatives of peace forces spoke, among other things, about the inhumane fascist plans during World War II, the postwar anti-fascist struggle and detente and cooperation in Europe.

The objective of the seminar was to deepen links between peace forces of countries with different social systems and to assess the further possibilities and the continuation of actions of the so-called Lidice initiative.

In the final declaration, the participants in the meeting drew attention to the fact that fascism is not only a matter of the past but that we also continue to encounter its diverse forms now. They condemmed in this connection Israel's military actions against Lebanon and demanded an end to this aggression in keeping with the latest UN resolution. The declaration also pointed to the close connection between neofascist tendencies in some Western countries and the escalation in armaments. It appealed to all people irrespective of differences in their political, world outlook and religious views to unite in an even more active struggle for peace and disarmament.

## KEMPNY ADDRESSES CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL

LD281556 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] An hour ago the fifth meeting of the Czech National Council began in the old Czech assembly building. Here is our reporter Lubos Lidicky with a direct report on the session:

[Lidicky] After the opening of the meeting by Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, who welcomed as guests the Czech premier and some ministers, Jaroslav Tlapak, Czech minister of finance, took the floor. His expose on the first item of the meeting, a discussion of the state final account for the Czech Socialist Republic lasted almost an hour. Comrade minister stated that the crucial factor in the results achieved was last year's success in achieving a balance in budget management: it ended with a surplus Kcs28.5 million. State budget revenues amounted to Kcs134,047,000,000. The achievement of a balanced budget required a great effort and great initiative from the people, and was connected with the activities of the national committees and with sectors of the National Front. Even under more complex external and internal conditions than the plan envisaged, the dynamic growth of the economy has been ensured although this was at a slower rate than during recent years.

It would be a mistake however, said comrade minister, to over estimate this success. In this connection he pointed out certain shortcomings and persistent difficulties. The effectiveness of social production has not achieved the required level, the structure of supplies and their distribution has worsened. In certain enterprises unevenness of production and sales has become further ingrained. In a number of cases planned production capacity has not been put into operation according to schedule and budget costs have risen. Although the circumstances were difficult, the high standard of living that has been achieved was maintained in accordance with the basic aim of the party's economic policy. An inseparable part of this policy and an expression of its social guarantees in full employment.

Deputy Miroslav Mrazek spoke about the report by the minister of finance on the state final account for the Czech Socialist Republic. After the afternoon break the agenda contains a debate in which 10 deputies have so far applied to speak.

## DER SPIEGEL COMMENTS ON NATIONAL SITUATION

DW281254 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 Jun 82 pp 32, 33

[Text] The SED leadership assesses the GDR situation to be extremely difficult and concludes from this finding that it must intensify the course of delimitation toward the Federal Republic. This is the upshot of an internal SED analyses which DER SPIEGEL documents. It is based on confidential information of the party hierarchy conveyed to leading officials, as well as on explanatory utterances by Politburo members.

We must proceed from the following considerations. The economic situation in CEMA is being regarded as tense, critical; no fundamental improvement is in sight.

The SED leadership at its 10th party congress in April had assessed the economic situation in the CEMA area much more optimistically and based its own growth targets on that assessment. But after the party congress it was told in no uncertain terms by the Soviet side that it proceeds from entirely wrong premises.

At the same time the petroleum deliveries to the GDR from the Soviet Union were cut by 10 percent or about 2 million tons a year. The GDR leadership was told that it must increase its aid to Poland and its deliveries to the USSR, and that it must carry a greater share in the arms burdens of the Warsaw Pact. This formed the background for the more critical and sober assessment of the GDR situation by Erich Honecker at the 3d meeting of the SED Central Committee in November 1981.

The miserable, even disastrous situation of Soviet agriculture, meanwhile, has led to a point where the GDR must supply meat and livestock not only to Poland but also, in great volume, to the Soviet Union. The rest is exported to the West to collect foreign exchange. The consequence is that meat has become scarce in East Berlin and even more so in the rest of the GDR.

The dilemma in the GDR's own agriculture makes the situation even worse. Speaking in the Politburo and in talks with aides, Guenter Mittag called the plans for the national economy with their high growth figures "hollow plans" to which one must nevertheless adhere desperately.

The worst in domestic policy is not the so-called peace movement but the increasing reluctance regarding a great work performance. The SED leadership as well as Moscow are shocked at the fact that the Polish leadership fails to gain control of the situation in its country and that it is impossible to tell how this might be done in the foreseeable future.

What makes the party unsure, besides, is the uncertainty of what the Moscow leadership will be like in the future with regard to its personnel and the political course it will sail.

Honecker with a queasy feeling recalls an event in his own past: In the final phase of the Ulbricht era Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov coordinated important issues with the number two in the SED, Erich Honecker, behind Ulbricht's back, for instance, the course of action in the negotiations on the Berlin four-power agreement. A group in the Politburo (Honecker, Kurt Hager, Paul Verner, Willi Stoph) at the time in secret negotiations in Moscow with the Soviets pursued the replacement of Ulbricht.

For all these reasons the SED leadership obviously is determined -- and Honecker is no exception -- to step up the course of delimitation toward Bonn. A reduction of the minimum exchange rate is less likely than ever before. An enhancement of the options of GDR citizens to travel to the West is out of the question.

The small improvements of the recent past have always been explained in the party and in the state apparatus with the reservation that some small concessions had to be made but that nobody is entitled to such trips. Besides, the whole thing can be rescinded any time. Many applications are delayed or rejected. Even cadres for trips to the West [SPIEGEL footnote: "These are state and party functionaries who are permanently allowed to travel to the West on official business"] who apply for travel to the West on urgent family matters or who have reached retirement status are turned down. In the former case this is done with the justification that anyone having the status of cadre for official business trips can travel only on official business; in the latter case the argument for the rejection is that private trips to the West at pension age can be approved only after a quarantine period of 3 to 5 years.

The members of the state apparatus responsible for the approval of such applications are reacting even harsher than heretofore. Almost 100 percent of them are people who are not allowed to travel to the West either on official business or privately. The party leadership backs them with the laudatory hint that in the entire socialist camp they are almost the only ones left on which the party can rely. Correspondingly, strict controls at the border crossing points considerably increase even for people traveling on official business.

In dealing with Bonn the SED leadership hopes to balance and/or cover up the restrictive handling of the travel and contact options with the intention to let pensioners hitherto allowed to travel to the Federal Republic continue to travel without hindrance. In addition a limited circle of "organized travel groups" below pension age is supposed to be allowed to travel.

The organized travel groups above all are supposed to advance time and again the fundamental demands which Honecker had raised in Gera in 1980: full recognition of the GDR under international law, ambassadors instead of permanent representatives, recognition of the Elbe River middle line as the border, the dissolution of the central office for the registration of GDR crimes in Salzgitter.

Parallel to further deliniation the SED leadership plans to conclude economic and financial agreements with the Federal Republic on a purely commercial basis. In no case, however, must such agreements be linked with questions concerning travel options between the two states.

In March Honecker even talks of the need to place trade with the Federal Republic in general on the same basis as that with other capitalist states. The SED leadership believes that it is necessary to persistently work on making the GDR, in relation to the FRG, a recognized subject of international law in every respect.

In this connection the SED leadership argues along the lines of approximately the following pattern; with the basic treaty only half a step in this direction was achieved. But if things further intensify in Eastern Europe and in the GDR's interior, and this probably must be anticipated, the future development can hardly be managed if so-called inner-German relations continue to exist: if there is, for instance, a permanent representation of the other German state in the GDR which presumes for itself an obligation to care for all German citizens; if, say, the border is merely considered an inner-German border; if Bonn grants entry and home to all GDR Germans who wish to move to the Federal Republic and also do so to a large extent in various ways.

It is absolutely enough that one has West Berlin in the middle of the GDR and a generous transit traffic clear across the GDR, and that probably nothing fundamental will lend itself to any change in the foreseeable future.

Honecker has drawn attention to the fact that time also is needed for the implementation of the Gera demands but that it is necessary to do some prodding if only for the sake of making some headway in this or that issue since sudden intensifications might block the chances again.

He recalled that it was possible to obtain the approval of the Soviets for the direct elections of the Berlin People's Chamber deputies, prior to Afghanistan. After Afghanistan, however, it was impossible to obtain the Soviet blessing for making the new city district of Marzahn a separate ninth city district, because Moscow does not wish any further conflicts with the West [SPIEGEL footnote: "Under the London protocol of 12 September 1944 the number of East Berlin's city districts is fixed at 8."]

The SED leadership also proceeds from the premise that the future of the Bonn coalition is uncertain. For this reason it is necessary to achieve at least some headway on the road toward recognition under international law during the period in which the coalition still forms the government. But in this connection no concessions are to be made in issues which are at Bonn's heart.

In the assessment of Honecker and the Politburo the antagonism will become harsher anyway if and when the CDU forms the government. Any improvement in the GDR's starting position attained until then will pay off. If the SPD stays in power one might proceed as before and, perhaps, show a bit of concession readiness, depending on the existing situation.

Under these aspects it would be good and correct if Honecker made his return visit to the Federal Republic this year mostly under conditions in line with the visit of a foreign head of state, without any further compromise in matters of travel alleviations, exchange quotas or the like.

One must accept that such a GDR approach could curtail the SPD chances to stay in power. First, the GDR approach is not decisive for the fate of the Federal Government and second, priority must be given to safeguarding the power and stability of the GDR more than to any other aspects. Everything else is subordinated to this aim. "We can help the SPD only if we will have our power firmly in hand" (Honecker).

National statements with regard to the Federal Republic ("no new war must emanate from German territory") were made by the party leadership just for the sake of the Soviets to increase pressure on the Federal Republic so that it will not totally follow the Reagan course -- aside from the fact that Honecker also believes that the GDR would not survive a military conflict in Europe.

Naturally the entire German policy strategy of the SED leadership can change totally if a new leadership will become active in Moscow and follow a new course. But the motto of the Politburo is that you must wait and see. The GDR will be best prepared for such a situation also if it strengthened its own positions.

## DAILY CITES HELMUT SCHMIDT ADDRESS IN BONN

AU281450 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jun 82 p 8

[ADN report on government declaration of FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the Bundestag in Bonn on 24 June]

[Text] Bonn (ADN) -- On Thursday, FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt criticized and rejected the U.S. President's decision on sanctions vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, in a government declaration before the Bundestag in Bonn. Something that will not take place in the Federal Republic, Schmidt stressed, "is a trade war with the Soviet Union, with which a new era of cold war could be introduced." The government, together with its West European partners, has taken notice of the recent decision of the American Government "with concern and regret." The chancellor stressed the declaration of the meeting of foreign ministers of the European community in Luxembourg which states that this measure taken by the U.S. President without consultation is an "extraterritorial expansion of American jurisdiction." It is "against the principles of international law."

Helmut Schmidt stressed: "Like our European partners we keep to the gas-pipeline deal. We will and must stick to the agreement. We have never left our American partners in doubt on this attitude."

Damage may arise from the American decision for the future of economic cooperation between Europe and the United States. This applies in particular to the expansion of the territorial field of application of American decisions.

In evaluating the Bonn NATO summit, the chancellor stressed adherence to the NATO decisions, in particular to the Brussels missiles decision. He also declared that the government is in favor of an approximate balance of power determined and guaranteed by treaties. Therefore, negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament will remain an inseparable element of the security policy of the government. Cooperation with socialist countries in the economic field must also be part of this policy.

Helmut Schmidt stressed the "special commitment of both German states for securing peace in Europe." The government, therefore, places great importance on further developing the relations between the two German states. In this context the speaker said: "The moves for improvement in the relationship with the GDR which had been made at the meeting at Lake Werbellin have so far not been exploited, we are still far from normality." On the settlement in the trade between the two German states, Helmut Schmidt stressed before the Bundestag that any policy other than the present settlement of the Swing would "not meet the bilateral interests of the further development of this trade." This trade is of considerable use for employment.

## BEGLOV COMMENTS ON U.S.-USSR START NEGOTIATIONS

AU251501 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 24 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Commentary by APN commentator Spartak Beglov: "Key Points"]

[Text] In preparing the official negotiations with the United States on a limitation and reduction of strategic arms, the Soviet Union presupposes that they will not be used for concealing military activities but for achieving concrete agreements acceptable to both sides. The USSR, which gives priority to a nuclear disarmament, is also ready for negotiations and agreements on the limitation and reduction of all other kinds and systems of weapons. Of course, here only one principle can be valid: equality and equal security for both sides.

These key points of the Soviet attitude were clearly summarized by Leonid Brezhnev at the end of May this year. And a few days ago Andrey Gromyko reaffirmed this before the UN forum.

The negotiations must not take place without taking into account all the positive things that have been achieved in the SALT process during the past decade. The intention of both sides to observe the fundamental conditions of the non-ratified SALT II Treaty is regarded as a favorable sign for the reviving process on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms.

Of course, in the interest of accelerating vital new agreements it would be ideal if the SALT II Treaty were ratified and at same time SALT II negotiations were started with the aim of reducing the strategic nuclear arsenals. The American side was not ready to undertake limitations and controls, which had touched upon the ambitious rearmament program of the United States for nuclear missiles of a new generation.

Now there are several signs that the Reagan administration is renouncing its maximalist position. Are they now honest or are they only trying to quiet the public opinion against the nuclear "arbitrariness?" The early future will show.

Much precious time has been lost. The process of the previous SALT negotiations brought the two superpowers to an important point in the history of the arms race and the struggle against this race. In the interests of this the Soviet Union proposed to freeze both arsenals at the present level. This is not to be done to perpetuate the existing situation but to find decisive stimuli for the decision process on a reduction. Under these conditions it is necessary to undertake no actions which would result in an impairment of the stability of the strategic situation. With its negative attitude the Reagan administration let the suspicion arise that its agreement to the negotiations is an attempt to find time to implement the Pentagon's rearmament program.

But an even greater warning for caution is the Pentagon paper on "principles of U.S. defense" which was accepted and confirmed by the White House and which contains an extraordinary plan for waging a protracted nuclear war with the Soviet Union, of course with the intention of being victorious. Otherwise such plans would be useless. If this, however, is the case, what American policy is one to believe: the nuclear blackmail of the "hawks" or the timid attempts at moderation? In the negotiations in Geneva and in the practical policy of the American leadership it must now become evident what the true intentions of the United States are.

## SPORT, TECHNOLOGY CONGRESS HELD IN COTTBUS

LD251550 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Cottbus; 25 Jun (ADN) -- The Seventh Society for Sport and Technology [GST] Congress opened on Friday morning in Cottbus. During the 3-day talks of the 1,200 delegates in the town congress center there will be a review of the society's work during the last 5 years, and a discussion of the tasks of the defense organization in securing peace and in the all-round strengthening of socialism and of its defensive power, in which attention will center on defense political education, premilitary training and military sport in the development of socialist personalities.

Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Politburo member and minister of national defense, and Egon Krenz, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council attended the congress. The SED Central Committee sent a greetings meassage to the congress which was signed by Erich Honecker.

Guests of the congress are delegations from military and sports organizations in Bulgaria, the CSSR, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary and Vietnam.

In the Central Executive Committee's report, its chairman, Lieutenant General Teller, stressed the society's progress and growth and the aim and content of its activities which are closely allied to the policy of the SED which is consistently aimed at the people's welfare. The task of the Society for Sport and Technology, which was founded 30 years ago on 7 August 1952, is to contribute to the raising of the National People's Army's fighting power by strengthening its activities in military education, premilitary training and military sport.

Army General Heinz Hoffmann, who presented the greetings of the party and state leadership to the congress, said that the international situation has continued to deteriorate due to the policy of the most aggressive NATO circles, particularly the United States. It is true that in the past there have been serious situations of conflict and heavy political, economic and ideological attacks by imperialism against socialism and against the anti-imperialist liberation movement. Nevertheless, today the situation is more dangerous than, for instance, in the seventies. One main reason for the continuing deterioration of the situation is the confrontation course of leading imperialist circles, especially the United States and NATO, which are looking for a way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Leading representatives of monopoly capitalism and especially the military industrial complex are scrupulously striving for an opportunity to maintain their outmoded exploitation system and to defeat the forces of social progress with all the economic, political, diplomatic, ideological and psychological means at their disposal and above all with their powerful military might.

This confrontation course became apparent again during the NATO summit meeting in Bonn. The peace demagogy by President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig and other NATO leaders must be viewed against hard facts and brutal anticommunist attacks.

The U.S. President called for a counterrevolution in the socialist states and demanded a trade war. Furthermore, an adherence to their policy of strength and war preparation emerged at the NATO summit. All the important arms projects, especially those relating to an increase in conventional arms of NATO forces, were confirmed in the resolutions of the Bonn NATO Council meeting.

At the same time the extension of the overseas potential of the NATO states was proposed. The U.S. demand was discussed of how, under its leadership, joint action in conflicts outside the NATO sphere will be safeguarded, Heinz Hoffmann said.

A further aspect of the sharpening of the international situation can be seen in the numerous current danger spots and conflict centers which could spark a major war and even lead to the global extension of fighting right up to a worldwide nuclear war.

The unpredictability of imperialist policy and the growing danger to world peace, according to the defense minister, is also reflected in the present criminal Israeli aggression against Lebanon. In this endeavor the Israeli army, which is to put the PLO out of action and subjugate Lebanon and Syria, is to serve the imperialists, especially the United States. Israel is to be used by the imperialists to decisively weaken the progressive forces in this area, and if possible, smash them. This latest conflict, in one of the most sensitive zones of world politics, in which the U.S. Government openly supports the aggressor, can quickly expand and escalate.

A further reason for the threat to world peace is directly connected with the amassing of an immense arms potential by the reactionary systems which would be big enough to annihilate mankind.

With their arms drive policy the most reactionary circles of the United States and NATO are trying to gain military superiority and are aiming at world domination. At the same time the imperialists use the fighting by Great Britain, Argentina and Israel as important experiments for modern arms, Army General Hoffmann said.

The defense minister pointed out that it is not the first time for imperialism to have prepared, carried out and evaluated "limited conflicts" as a test for the "big war." The socialist community of states is determined "to ensure during the eighties the maintenance of the required defense potential and not to allow the United States and NATO to gain military superiority."

The minister pointed out that the Soviet Union pursues an honest and unambiguous peace policy and has repeatedly submitted proposals for the preservation of peace, the latest being Leonid Brezhnev's letter to the second special UN session on disarmament. "Above all the unilateral promise by the Soviet Union not to be the first state to use nuclear arms cannot be praised too highly -- although NATO continues to insist that the first use of nuclear arms be retained as a fundamental part of its military strategy." The negative attitude by the U.S. Government is also evident in the adherence to the adventurous objective of wanting to gain world domination.

At the end of his speech Army General Hoffmann presented the Karl Marx Order to the GST. The highest GDR order was awarded to the organization by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State and of the National Defense Council.

## Krenz Speaks at Congress

LD262326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Cottbus, 26 Jun (ADN) -- The Seventh Society for Sport and Technology [GST] Congress continued its work on Saturday with discussions on the contribution of the GST, the socialist defense organization of the GDR, to the strengthening of socialism and to the securing of peace. Candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Egon Krenz, first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ, and Werner Walde, first secretary of the SED Cottbus Bezirk Executive Committee, and other personalities attended, including Col Sigmund Jaehn, the first GDR pilot-cosmonaut.

The delegates approved a letter to Erich Honecker with great enthusiasm. In the name of the GST members and soldiers of tomorrow, they unanimously declared themselves committed to the party of the working class. The letter says that the GST will continue to conscientiously and consistently fulfill the demanding tasks laid upon it for the further strengthening of the defensive power of socialism and for the securing of peace. The SED could always and in every situation rely on the GST.

To enthusiastic applause, Egon Krenz conveyed the greetings of the socialist youth federation and of the Thaelmann Pioneer children's organization. It fills us with great joy, he said, that in the 30-year history of the GST the joint responsibility for peace and socialism has taken an important place. Refering to Erich Honecker's final address at the fourth SED Central Committee meeting, Krenz said that the preservation of peace and the defense of the socialist achievements required fighters for socialism who always meet the high intellectual and physical demands. "Because we want that, our fatherland flourishes more and more beautifully within the family of socialist countries created around the Soviet Union. The defense preparedness of the young is one point which we shall never allow to be questioned by anyone. We are active peace fighters who know precisely that the stronger socialism, the stronger peace."

Krenz added: "Making the young aware that they carry here, at the seam of the two conflicting social world systems, special responsibility and have special opportunities to influence through their own high achievements the present arguments in the spirit of socialism and world peace, is and remains our common task."

A delegation of the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization then extended greetings to congress.

The congress delegates condemned with outrage Israel's criminal aggression against Lebanon and against the Palestinian people. In a unanimously adopted protest resolution, they resolutely demand "an immediate end to the barbaric attack which could only have been carried out with the support of the United States." All Israeli troops have to be unconditionally withdrawn from Lebanon. The congress delegates expressed their firm solidarity with all Lebanese and Palestinian patriots fighting for freedom.

## Letter to Honecker

LD271348 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Cottbus, 27 Jun (ADN) -- The Seventh Society for Sport and Technology [GST] Congress ended its 3-day discussions in Cottbus on Sunday with the unanimous adoption of a resolution in which future tasks are laid down, and with the election of its leading organs. Lt Gen Guenter Teller was reelected Central Executive Committee chairman of the GDR's socialist military organization. The 1,200 delegates sent a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in which on behalf of GST members and soldiers of tomorrow they unanimously endorse the policy of the party of the working class.

At the end of the congress Lieutenant General Teller said he hoped that the congress will lead to new initiatives and activities which in turn will lead to new action for the strengthening and protection of socialism, and to further successful work in the interest of safeguarding peace.

## ANC REPRESENTATIVE GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE 23 JUNE

AU251747 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jun 82 p 2

[ADN/ND report on press conference of Anthony L. Mongalo, head of the representation of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa in the GDR, in Berlin on 23 June]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/ND) -- The readiness of the suppressed black and colored majority of the population of South Africa to struggle against the racist regime has grown further. This was declared in Berlin on Wednesday by Anthony L. Mongalo, head of the representation of the ANC of South Africa in the GDR, at a press conference on the occasion of the forthcoming 26 June South African Liberation Day.

Pretoria has had to admit that ANC fighters are present throughout the country and that ANC enjoys great popularity among the people. The regime tries to increasingly counter this by detaining and torturing prisoners as well as through aggressive acts against independent, neighboring countries. "The ANC is a national liberation movement which wants to build a completely new society which can live in peace with its neighbors," Anthony Mongalo said.

In the global strategy of the United States, South Africa is designed to play the same role which Israel is playing in the Middle East. "On this occasion we declare our full solidarity with the PLO and the National Progressive Movement of Lebanon in view of the barbarous Zionist attacks which have cost the lives of thousands of innocent people. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and all occupied Arab territories," the ANC representative stressed. He recalled that since the founding of the Israeli state and since the accession to power of the governing national party in 1948 in South Africa, there have been close relations between the two regimes. At present numerous Israeli military people are working as advisers to the South African occupation forces in the north of Namibia.

The peoples of the community of socialist states, Anthony Mongalo stressed, "are tested and reliable allies and helpers in our just struggle for national liberation and social emancipation."

## WORKERS FESTIVAL HELD IN NEUBRANDENBURG

### Politburo Members Attend

LD252132 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 25 Jun 82

[By ADN editor Joerg-Stephen Schlaewe]

[Excerpts] Neubrandenburg, 25 June (ADN) -- The 19th GDR Workers Festival opened with the political review "Our Home" in Neubrandenburg tonight.

The opening event on Friday, staged in the open, was attended by around 10,000 spectators including SED Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Harry Tisch and Margarete Mueller as well as trade union delegations from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Hungary as well as the FRG and West Berlin.

## Tisch Interviewed

LD272334 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Interview with Harry Tisch, SED Central Committee Politburo member and FDGB chairman, by (Inge Uessler) at the 19th Workers Festival in Neubrandenburg Bezirk; live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] The 19th Workers Festival is coming to a close. The festival was intended as an exhibition of achievements, a popular festival and as an exchange of experiences. Comrade Tisch, how did it go in your opinion?

[Answer] I believe that [words indistinct] the 19th Workers Festival and the cultural festival of workers in socialist agriculture linked with it fully lived up to the claim of being an exhibition of achievements, a people's festival and an exchange of experiences. It was a mass [word indistinct] demonstration of social and cultural development following the 10th SED Congress and the 10th FDGB Congress.

The festival was held for the first time in Neubrandenburg Bezirk and was prepared and carried out fully in the responsibility of [words indistinct], with a great awareness of responsibility and with much love and enjoyment by the workers, cooperative peasants and the entire population. There was a wonderful, festival atmosphere everywhere. Optimism and the joy of living, the unity of party and people and a readiness to strengthen our socialist state on an all-round basis by good deeds marked all festival events. No matter where I was, I felt all the time that the people in our country felt well, socially secure and protected and were ready to give everything for the continued flourishing and strengthening of our socialist fatherland.

[Question] The socialist people's festival in Neubrandenburg Bezirk took place at a time when the world political situation is tense. How was this reflected at the festival?

[Answer] I can say that all (?425) events as well as the 6 exhibitions were characterized by the idea that the struggle to preserve peace is the most important question of all at the present time. The exhibits in the very successful exhibition of creative work by the people [passage indistinct], an attitude of awareness of the basic tasks of the present characterized all works and programs and was reflected in the cordial meetings and discussions with citizens of the area and the many guests. A considerable degree of strength and confidence in the struggle to preserve and secure peace grows from the people's active attitude.

## TV REPORTS ON CIVIL DEFENSE PREPARATIONS

DW231223 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German at 0625 GMT on 17 June 1982 carries a 25-minute special program on the GDR's civil defense efforts. The program, run within the framework of the television service's audio-visual tuition aid programs for schools but this time also slated for general consumption, in film reports and by statements of individuals describes the GDR's efforts in preparing for the protection against disasters in general and nuclear war in particular.

Following a film clip showing a teacher-pupil discussion on the peace mission of GDR soldiers, the reporter points out that "imperialism was, is, and remains aggressive," this being the reason "why we must be vigilant and reliably protect our achievements."

The next film report deals with a civil defense exercise "in a socialist enterprise," the narrative saying in part that "following the assumed use of mass destruction weapons the detector detachments have started working." Meanwhile the working people "in the shelters prepare for the use of simple means of respiratory protection" while the "enterprise task forces check their equipment, waiting for their orders." The narrator declares that "the state manager is fully responsible for all measures of civil defense, be it an exercise, a case of disaster or an armed conflict."

At this point the program introduces a works manager who describes his responsibilities with respect to civil defense, saying that civil defense "poses specific requirements such as the protective accommodation of the working people or the organization of the task forces, so that they can also be used for the effective counteraction of serious breakdowns and catastrophes.... This is why many brigades in our enterprise have made civil defense a subject of their commitments in the struggle for the title of socialist work collective."

As for the importance of proper knowledge about protective options the program then features a lecture in which the female instructor says that "at the time in Hiroshima and Nagasaki the people lacked this knowledge, and the losses surely would have been smaller by far had they known how to protect themselves. It is a fact, at any rate, that protection is feasible on 95 percent of the area hit by a nuclear weapons explosion. This requires, however, that we can help ourselves and others."

The next film clip deals with "civil defense schools" and their significance as part of the home defense efforts, showing, among other things, a military officer stating during a lecture: "It is a political assignment, a class assignment, which has brought you here from your enterprises. Imperialism remains dangerous and unpredictable even if the aggressive plans of imperialism are less haphazard than before in view of the constantly strengthening political, economic and military strength of the socialist countries under the leadership of the Soviet Union. For this reason you will acquire here a maximum of knowledge and ability which you will impart later to the comrades of your respective formations and your colleagues in the enterprises. It is vitally important to know the effects of the mass destruction weapons, to be aware of how to behave before, during and after raids, and how one can help oneself and others. Viewed from this angle your knowledge, skill and actions spell protection of life."

Following a short film report on an exercise "in a civil defense training base in the territory" [not specified] which notes that "the decontamination of the technical equipment used and the sanitary treatment of the active forces are part of the training program and serve to promote the personal safety of the members of civil defense," the program features statements by various individuals as to their approach to civil defense and its necessity.

The program ends with the suggestion of the moderator that "civil defense is concerned with protecting and helping. The best protection is the preservation of peace. This is the historical mission of socialist home defense, and the citizens contribute toward this end in civil defense as well."

## OFFICIAL DESCRIBES ENERGY MANAGEMENT EFFORTS

DW251115 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Peter Otto interview with State Secretary Jochen Kratzke of the Ministry for Coal and Energy -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] What we have seen as a headline is this: Despite decreasing energy consumption, more brown-coal extraction: Why? Comrade Kratzke, I would like to pass this question to you. Work in the enterprises is very much energy-aware now, and more products are being produced with a smaller energy input. And yet, there is the commitment of the miners to produce 2.8 million tons of crude brown coal in excess of the plan which is steep enough as it is. How is this to be harmonized?

[Answer] It is generally known that despite the great share of our crude brown coal in the safeguarding of the energy supply of our country, we are using imported energy sources to a considerable degree. Surely everybody will understand that in view of the development of the international situation in the energy sector, and the raw material sector as a whole, the use of these imported energy sources is linked with increasing expenditures.

This presents us with the problem of guaranteeing the replacement as well as the most effective use of the imported energy sources throughout the national economy. It is necessary, for instance, to utilize energy sources first for production purposes [veredelung] and only then for the generation of heat or for the energy supply in the broadeast sense of the word.

Inevitably this leads to a point where we, in keeping with pertinent decisions, must step up our efforts toward increasing the production of domestic energy sources. That is to say, we must extract more crude brown coal because we must achieve this balance primarily through the production of crude brown coal.

[Question] To use a cue from today's press conference, the use of secondary energy, how is secondary energy being utilized right now, and what are the problems involved?

[Answer] The utilization rate of our secondary energy amounts to 44.6 percent at the moment. This means that we are not utilizing even half of the available secondary energy. To put it in simple terms, considerable heat is lost, escaping into the atmosphere in the form of waste heat, flue gases and other such media.

[Question] I would like to pass on to you a question which Horst (Germat) of Forst has posed to us. He writes that the replacement of imported energy sources in the economy entails the increase of the briquette input, and he asks, does this not affect the consumer supply with briquettes?

[Answer] It is quite appropriate to ask this question. I might answer it by saying that in planning the supply of brown coal briquettes we proceed from the consideration that the people will be fully supplied with the required briquettes.

## TRAFFIC AGREEMENT WITH WEST BERLIN CONCLUDED

AU231405 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Jun 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Press Statement"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Additional stipulations on travel and visitor's traffic were made between the GDR Government and the (West) Berlin Senat on 18 June 1982 in the interest of a further normalization of relations between the GDR and (West) Berlin.

In accordance with an exchange of letters between Ambassador Dr Walter Mueller, commissioner of the GDR Government, and Senat Counselor Kunze, commissioner of the (West) Berlin Senat, the GDR border crossing point to (West) Berlin at the village of Stolpe will be authorized to handle entries of citizens who have a permanent residence in (West) Berlin in connection with the completion of the Berlin-Hamburg highway for entries of pedestrians in travel and visitors traffic. [sentence as published]

In addition, the GDR representative announced that as of 1 July 1982 the duration of visits for persons with a permanent residence in (West) Berlin entering the GDR for 1 day has been extended until 0200 hours of the following day.

## LEGAL ASSISTANCE TALKS WITH FRG CONTINUE

AU241506 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jun 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Negotiations on Legal Assistance"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN) -- The negotiations between the GDR and FRG on a legal assistance agreement were continued in Bonn on 22 June 1982. The delegations were headed by Dr Hans Ranke, state secretary in the GDR Ministry of Justice, and Dr Guenther Erkel, state secretary in the FRG Ministry of Justice.

## DAILY COMMENTS ON ALEXANDER HAIG'S RESIGNATION

AU291005 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jun 82 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Failure of a Concept"]

[Text] With Secretary of State Alexander Haig's departure, a person favoring continuity in several directions has left the U.S. administration. He was a link between the Democratic and Republican administrations and the Washington administration and the West European governments. He realized the importance of maintaining Soviet-U.S. contacts and he strove to live up to this realization also in practice. Owing to his international experience, he counted as the member of the present U.S. administration who is most predisposed to compromise.

His notoriously bad relationship with Secretary of Defense Weinberger and his disagreements with National Security Adviser Clark are mentioned among the reasons for Haig's resignation. In the last almost 20 years, however, it has become traditional for relations not to be good between the Washington institutions that shape and implement U.S. foreign policy. Constant bickering is inherent in their dispersed nature. It follows from their character -- in line with their official activity, as it were -- that individual departments inevitably will not agree with one another. That will probably continue, despite the fact that, with George Shultz' appointment, an administrative threesome is taking shape in which the President, the secretary of state and the secretary of defense all adhere to the same school of economics. The autocracy of a single school of economics -- the Friedman school -- that is emerging in U.S. politics contrary to custom suggests, particularly when one thinks of its teachers, that (in addition to the persistence in the arms race) an inclination to economic diktats vis-a-vis partners will become a permanent feature of U.S. foreign policy.

In his letter of resignation Haig noted that he does not regard an implementation of the foreign policy line whose principles he had laid out together with the President as ensured. In actual fact, they never have had a truly common foreign policy platform; while Haig proceeded from an acknowledgment of the realities, Reagan proceeded from the creation and enforcement of superior strength. This fundamental conceptual difference of views was likely to have been behind the secretary of state's earlier frequently leaked and then withdrawn intention to resign. What is possibly involved at the moment as well is the fact that it has finally become obvious to Haig that he is unable to elevate his own concept to the status of a coherent Washington foreign policy and, what is more, not having the administration's support behind him, he himself can no longer genuinely represent that concept. Thus, his resignation was inevitable -- an admission of failure.

Haig stated at the Senate hearing preceding his appointment: "If we accept that the specific issues facing us are only superficial manifestations of more fundamental problems, then it must also be clear that an effective policy cannot be shaped daily, always anew, only on the basis of immediate expediency. By so doing, we would risk our adversaries misunderstanding us, our allies withdrawing their trust in us and our confusing our own people."

That is what has happened.

### Shultz Takeover

LD271834 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- If, by chance, it is true that the last push for the resignation of American Secretary of State Alexander Haig was the latest decision of Reagan about the west Siberian gas pipeline, which the President made over Haig's head, then "what we have incessantly witnessed in the past 18 months has only been repeated: The President accepted the advice of his secretary of state, but his close circle of friends convinced him of the opposite within a few hours.

On such occasions either Weinberger contradicted Haig, or Haig was forced to modify his previous standpoint in a humiliating way, or presidential measures were simply made over his head," writes a commentary in the Sunday issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

The commentary deals with Haig's political career, his activity as secretary of state and points out: "Haig sought the middle road between the Reagan policy declaring the priority of American armament, and the previous White House conception of strategic arms restriction.

"Shultz, the new secretary of state, was one of Reagan's candidates for this post already before the election victory," recalls the article and adds that Shultz's "pragmatical approach and his peaceful relation with the other rival groups of the Republican Party permits to conclude that with this replacement of staff, Reagan does not wish to directly put through a change in foreign policy line. He rather makes efforts to eliminate internal governmental debates when he replaced the hitherto ambitious chief of the State Department with this Californian business-politician close to him, and who has good relations with Weinberger as well," states the commentary.

## PARTY DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR LCY CONGRESS

LD261126 Budapest MTI in English 1033 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI) -- A delegation led by Miklos Ovari, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, left for Belgrade on Friday to attend the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The two members of the delegation are Peter Varga, member of the HSWP Central Committee and first secretary of the Party Committee of Somogy County, and Pal Simon, Hungary's ambassador to Belgrade.

## SOVIET CULTURAL DELEGATION ARRIVES IN BUDAPEST

LD281108 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, 28 Jun (MTI) — A Soviet delegation, headed by Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of culture and chairman of the Soviet section of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Cultural Cooperation Committee, arrived in Budapest Monday to attend the committee's session in Budapest.

The delegation was met at Ferihegy Airport by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the HSWP Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee and Hungarian chairman of the Cooperation Committee. Also present was Vladimir Bazovskiy, Soviet ambassador to Budapest.

## KADAR, LOSONCZI GREET FRELIMO'S MACHEL

AU281412 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 82 p 3

[Untitled, unattributed report]

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, have greeted in a message Samora Machel, president of the Frelimo Party and the People's Republic of Mozambique, on the occasion of the country's national holiday, the seventh anniversary of its becoming independent.

## TALKS HELD WITH VARIOUS POLISH DELEGATIONS

### Party Committees

LD261136 Budapest MTI in English 1038 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI) — A delegation of party workers of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, headed by Stanislaw Gebala, head of the Administrative Department of the PUWP Central Committee, visited Hungary from June 21 to 25 on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee [as received] met the delegation and talks were conducted by Laszlo Ballai, head of the Economic Policy Department of the HSWP Central Committee. The delegation visited four counties and was informed of the economic work of local party organizations and saw the economic management system in practice.

A delegation of party workers of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, headed by Wladyslaw Kata, deputy head of the Scientific and Educational Department of the PUWP Central Committee, visited Hungary from June 21 to 25 on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee. Istvan Toth, sub-department head of the Central Committee, held talks with the delegation which was informed of party management of public education and instruction. The Polish party workers were met by Mihaly Kornidesz, member of the HSWP Central Committee and head of the Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Department of the Central Committee.

### Parliamentary Delegation

LD271850 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI) -- A Polish parliamentary delegation, which paid a working visit to Hungary under the leadership of Stanislaw Kukuryka, president of the parliamentary inter-committee group of the Sejm dealing with economic reform, on the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly, left Budapest on Saturday. The delegation studied the experiences of Hungarian economic management system. During its stay in Budapest the delegation held talks with Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, Attila Madarasi, undersecretary of state for finance, Miklos Pulai, vice-president of the Planning and Budget Committee of the National Assembly, Janos Penzes, deputy chairman of the Metropolitan Council, and Istvan Huszar, chief director of the Social Sciences Institute of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

### Delegation Returns From Poland

LD251104 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI) — A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Sandor Boros, deputy head of HSWP CC department, which paid a visit to Warsaw between June and 24 [as recieved] on the invitation of the PUWP Central Committee, returned to Budapest Wednesday.

The delegation had talks on the development of ideological cooperation between the two parties.

The Hungarian party delegation met M. Orzechowski, secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

## Lazar Cables Jaruzelski

LD242116 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI) -- Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has expressed his condolences over the mine accident in Bytom in a telegram addressed to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

## INTERPARTY TALKS WITH ZAMBIAN DELEGATION REPORTED

LD281830 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI) -- As already reported, Hungarian-Zambian inter-party talks began today in Budapest.

The Hungarian negotiating team was headed by Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and its members were Laszlo Ballai, head of the HSWP Central Committee's Economic Policy Department, Andras Knopp, deputy head of the HSWP Central Committee's Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Department, Gabor Nagy, deputy head of the Central Committee's Foreign Affairs Department, Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Garai, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Otto Herkner, and Jozsef Gyorke, official of the HSWP Central Committee.

The Zambian delegation was led by Humphrey Mulemba and included Elijah Mudenoa, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee's Economic and Finance Committee, Dr. Henry Matipa, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee's Social and Cultural Committee, Trade and Industry Minister Remi Chisupa, Joshue Siyolwe, ambassador of the Republic of Zambia to Hungary, Kapembe Nsingo, head of the party's Cultural Department, County Secretary Christine Mulundika, Francis Mwanza [name as received], military attache, and Arnol Mtopa [name as received], legal advisor of the party.

At the talks marked by a cordial atmosphere, the head of the Hungarian delegation informed the visitors about socialist construction work in Hungary, the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 12th party congress and forthcoming tasks.

The Zambian party leader spoke about the endeavours being made for eliminating Zambia's backwardness, improving workers' living conditions and consolidating the country's independence. Both sides voiced the conviction that immense scope exists for strengthening relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Zambia.

In the afternoon the Zambian delegation visited tourist sites of Budapest.

## VISIT BY VENEZUELAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S MUJICA

AU282038 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jun 82 p 5

[MTI report: "Talks by a Venezuelan Communist Party Representative"]

[Text] At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, Hector Mujica, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Venezuela, paid a visit to our country from 21 to 24 June.

The Venezuelan guest, who was received by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo, had talks with Sandor Jakab, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council. He visited the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda, Economic Policy and International Relations Departments, the National Hungarian Journalists Association and the Sasad producer cooperative. In a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the two parties' representatives informed each other about their parties' domestic and international activity, and conducted an extensive exchange of views on timely aspects of international life and the international ideological struggle. The Venezuelan party leader acquainted himself with our social construction.

## FARMS TO INCREASE CHEMICAL FERTILIZER USE

LD241252 Budapest MTI in English 1042 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI) -- Hungarian agriculture is expected to use more of chemical fertilizer in the coming year. Last year farms consumed 6.2 percent more fertilizer than in 1980. This put an end to the earlier trend when fertilizer consumption was slightly declining in the country.

In 1985 Hungarian farms are to use 1.9-2.1 million tons of fertilizer -- 400,000-600,000 tons more than in 1980. This means on the average 320 kilos of fertilizer (calculated in effective ingredient) will be spread on each hectare in that year as compared to 220 kilos in 1980. According to stipulations, 800,000 tons of the effective ingredient in the fertilizer used will be nitrogenous, 700,000 tons potassium and 600,000 tons phosphorous. Naturally steps are being taken to streamline soil nutrition operations. For example, a network of automatic soil testing centres has been set up. The Agriculture Ministry has made soil testing compulsory. Laboratories use computers to make an automatic study of 14 characteristics of 200 soil samples per day. The resultant data assist in determining optimal methods for soil amelioration. The use of liquid artificial fertilizer is growing rapidly with a view to improving the efficiency of soil nutrition. Side by side extra-root nutrition has tripled in the country in the past few years. As much as 90 percent of the country's plus one million hectares of [word indistinct] crop lands -- maize excepted -- annually gets liquid fertilizer from airplanes.

## 'PACKAGE DECREE' FOR ENTERPRISES INTRODUCED

LD251220 Budapest MTI in English 1054 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI) -- In agreement with the National Planning Office, the National Price and Material Office, the State Wages and Labour Office and the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, the Finance Ministry had issued a "package decree". A perusal of the package move reveals that these reflect the present situation of the national economy and pose stricter conditions before enterprises, cooperative and large agricultural farms. These governmental measures were necessitated foremostly by the unfavorable international economic changes. This time, too, the modification in the economic regulators transfer the changes in the national economic situation on to economic establishments.

### The Basis of Assessment

The most comprehensive change is to occur in profit taxation. The essence of this measure is to include various unproductive expenditures emanating from negligent work of an enterprise in the basis for profit tax. Earlier these were put into the category of regular expenditures. Such expenditures are various fines paid by an enterprise, penalties paid for unfulfilment of a contract, or expenditures exceeding the fund earmarked for covering guarantee. (In the case of the penalty paid for contract unfulfilment, the taxable basis has to be increased by the difference between the sum received and the sum paid. This does not mean that the assessable basis can be deducted from the net forfeit revenues.)

To cite a simple example: Let us say, an enterprise's sales receipts in 1981 amounted 4 million forints. Out of this, its expenditures aggregated 2 million forints including 500,000 forints of unproductive expenses that the enterprise could have avoided through more circumspect work. The gross basis for assessment was 2 million forints and in that case the state, too, would have received 1,375 million forints presuming that the joint rate for the entire tax is 55 percent. The distributable profit after 2 million forints is 900,000 forints, whereas it would be 1,125 million forints after a profit of 2.5 million forints.

Presuming unchanged figures and conditions, henceforth the above calculation will be as follows: The basis for profit tax will increase by non-productive expenditures, that is, 500,000 forints must be added to 2 million forints and, therefore, the sum payable to the state will be (2.5 x 0.55) 1.375 million forints and the distributable profit will be 625,000 forints. To sum up, henceforth the state will not allow decline in receipts accruing from negligent work by an enterprise. Earlier this decline in the receipts was accepted by the state or shared by it. (The additional expenditure of 500,000 forints diminished the enterprise's distributable profit will go down by that sum.)

The state does not simply reduce or centralize enterprises' inoome. Rather it generally does so only in cases when enterprises could have avoided certain expenditures. For example, by observing delivery schedule they can escape paying the penalty for contract unfillfillment, or by doing quality work they do not surpass their fund earmarked for guarantee and claims. (The question arises what is to be done when an enterprise pays a fine for water pollution because it had no money for purchasing the necessary installations for water purification. The decree gives no answer.)

The decree stipulates that the basis for assessing profit tax can increase only till the profit extends cover for paying the tax amount. Continuing with our example, as non-productive expenses only 1,637 million forints can be added to the profit of 2 million forints because this profit sum (2 million forints) provides the necessary cover (2,000 plus 1,637 equals 3,637 million, 3,637 x 0.55 equals 2,035 million forints). In other words, the enterprise has no profit for sharing. In contrast, earlier if the enterprise registered a profit of 2 million forints, irrespective of the extent of its expenditures ensuing from negligence, after paying taxes it possessed a profit of 900,000 forints.

An important feature of the "package decree" is that it metes out the same treatment to large agricultural farms as to industrial enterprises. In other words, greater discipline in management and the ensuring of state revenues are postulations faced not only by industry but also by agriculture.

## Investment Tax

A new element of the regulation is that 6 percent of the development fund formed out of the 1981 profit and of the development fund made up of amortization this year will have to be deposited in the compulsory reserve fund. This measure will curtail enterprises' investment possibility because the transferred sum cannot be used for investment purposes. Attention must also be paid that the state does not deduct the sum finally, but temporarily freezes it, a fact that is in harmony with the necessary curb on investment-linked purchasing power.

The investment tax, which is a new element faced by investing enterprises, must be paid from their development fund. The basis for levying the 25 percent tax will be that part of the total investment envisaged by which the enterprise's assets will grow. An important feature of this decree is that the sum paid out as tax cannot be treated as investment expenditure.

Though this measure in itself is not tantamount to a ban on investment, it puts barriers before new investments and will stimulate enterprises to concentrate their resources on projects already under way.

A significant trait of the decree is that it operates differentiatingly in levying tax: It exempts those enterprises which do not have to pay 20 percent construction tax. In other words, those investment projects are exempted which serve economic policy targets accorded priority in the country.

(For example, investments aimed at expanding export goods fund, at streamlining energy consumption, processing waste or secondary raw materials, etc.) This regulation is equally valid to industrial and large agricultural units.

The government expects of these strict measures involving investments that enterprises will adjust their development concepts to their reduced financial resources. They will carry out a versatile assessment to rank their development plans in harmony with the requirements of the national economy. This attitude on their part will be a criterion for judging whether they can flexibly adjust to changes -- not expected by them -- in regulators. It is certain that economic units unable to respond fast will almost invevitably have a deficit in their development fund and presumably these enterprises will have no possibility to bridge this gap.

Certain changes will be introduced also in the utilization of the compulsory reserve fund. According to the new decree, the compulsory reserve fund can be utilized -- with the condition that it would be replenished within five years -- for supplementing the diminished profit provided the profit tax is duly paid and the compulsory reserve formed as usual. Eighty percent of the sum thus available can be used for the aforementioned purpose. Enterprises with a deficit cannot avail themselves of this possibility.

An important curbing factor is that henceforth the reserve fund cannot be used for settling deficit in the sharing fund. In other words, an eventual deficit in the fund corresponding to the extent of wage increment for the year in question cannot be covered from this source.

The above curb can influence only a limited number of companies because they have already taken relevant measures for the current year and therefore it is expected to produce a more cautious attitude among enterprises only next year.

Certain modifications pertaining to prices too can be found in the "package". For instance, the cut in wood price which -- in keepiong with the price policy on basic materials -- necessarily modified the measure of production tax. As for large agricultural farms, the extent of the temporary subsidy will decline due to the increase in fuel prices encouraging them to economize with diesel.

The situation of the national economy warrants some change also in credit and interest policy in the near future.

A study of these changes demonstrates that the present financial measures were borne out of necessity and they place economic units in stress particularly because these compel them for a "course alteration" as the fiscal year is still halfway, a fact that can cause several hardships for continued work. Probably the majority of the enterprises will be able to cope with the stricter stipulations and, through more efficient work, they will be able to evolve conditions necessary for their development. (From economic weekly FIGYELO dated June 23, 1982)

## PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS WELCOMED

LD291134 Budapest MTI in English 1032 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, had talks in the HSWP CC headquarters this morning with Jorge del Prado, secretary-general of the Peruvian Communist Party, currently staying in Hungary.

The meeting was marked by a cordial and comradely atmosphere, and the two parties held a complete identity of views. The sides discussed the state and tasks of their respective parties, and exchanged views on current issues of the international workers' movement and international events and paid special attention to the latest developments in Central and South America. They emphasized that the elimination of the hotbeds of tension is necessary for the strengthening of international security but that the peoples's right of self-determination and the countries' national independence and sovereignty must be respected. The HSWP first secretary and the Peruvian secretary-general expressed solidarity with the patriotic forces of Central and South America in their fight for freedom and social progress against oppressive dictatorships and their supporters, with the construction of socialism in the Republic of Cuba and the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to safeguard independence. They confirmed that their parties are prepared for cooperation with all peace-loving forces in order to curb the arms race, to diffuse international tension and to safeguard world peace. Janos Kadar assured the Peruvian communists of the solidarity of the HSWP with the Peruvian struggle to protect democratic achievements, to promote workers' living standards and to strengthen the country's independence. The HSWP first secretary and the Peruvian general secretary agreed on the further strengthening of the two parties' fraternal cooperation and promoting relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Peru.

Present at the meeting was Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

## WARSAW REPORTS SEJM SESSION TO BE HELD 5, 6 JUL

LD281836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1715 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene the 23rd session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 5 and 6 July. The session will begin on 5 July at 1400.

The agenda of the session envisages the following: a report of the Commission for Legislative work on the draft budget law for 1982; a report of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances on the government's reports on the implementation of the national socioeconomic plan and the state budget in 1981 and a proposal that there should bea vote to approve the government's activities for that period; a report of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work on the deputies' draft law on the profession of legal adviser; a report of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and of the Commission for Legislative Work on the deputies' draft law on the principles of conducting economic activity based on small-scale manufacture on the territory of the Polish People's Republic by foreign persons and institutions; a report of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work on the government's draft law on the lands register and mortgages' a draft resolution to be presented by the commission for mandates and regulations on amending the regulations of the Sejm' the election of the Tribunal of State; a draft resolution on regulating the activity of the Tribunal of State to be presented by the Commission for Constitutional Accountability; the setting up of the Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm; deputies' question time, and changes in the personnel of Sejm commissions.

Prior to the Sejm session of 5 July, deputies' clubs will hold meetings' the PZPR Deputies' Club at 1000 in the Central Committee building; the ZSL deputies' Club at 0900 in the Hall of the Columns in the Sejm building; and the SD Deputies' Club at 1000 in Hall 118 in the Sejm building.

## OLSZOWSKI SPEAKS AT RADOM ACTIVISTS' MEETING

AU281802 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 2

[M. Kaca report: "Consistently Building a Platform for Agreement"]

[Text] On 23 June, Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, visited Radom Voivodship. In the afternoon he met with secretaries of municipal and parish committees, directors of regional party work centers and political workers in the voivodship committee. Zofia Grzyb, Politburo member, also took part. During the meeting, which was chaired by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the voivodship committee, Comrade Stefan Olszowski discussed the current problems in ideological and political activity, and our country's economic situation and its international conditions.

He said that in accordance with the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, a platform for national agreement on a solid foundation must be built, all forms of organizational activity by the citizens' committees for national rebirth must be supported, and the community must be consolidated around the Front for National Unity. S. Olszowski stressed that only order, work, joint participation and joint activity lead to the country's emergence from the crisis and onto the road of development. Making socialist renewal permanent cannot be done only by means of new legislation, but also by means of daily work. There is no room for opportunism and internal emigre attitudes today.

S. Olszowski said that two kinds of knowledge exist side by side in Poland these days -- real knowledge and false knowledge. Evidence of real knowledge is the conviction that we are living here and now, within set boundaries, in a socialist state which is part of the socialist community. We are taking advantage of the 37-year-old achievements of People's Poland. At the same time, we are aware that we will solve our difficulties only with our own strength and with the cooperation of our fraternal countries. However, the removal of these difficulties can only be brought about under conditions of social order and efficient work. Only this can lead us onto the road of development.

False knowledge is belief in the West and the empty promises of politicians, especially of President Reagan. These promises are accompanied by the false conviction that everything revolves around Polish matters and that Poland is an exceedingly important element in world politics. In fact, people are trying to make Poland an instrument of great imperial policy, an instrument supposed to break up the community of socialist countries from within. A feature of this policy is anti-Sovietism and the creation of myths concerning Solidarity. The Military Council of National Salvation's decision of 13 December was a victory for the realist forces. Nevertheless, false knowledge still exists among part of the community, maintained by counterrevolutionary forces in Poland and their Western allies.

In the afternoon, S. Olszowski paid a visit to the workers of the largest and most modern enterprise in the voivodship, the General Walter metal plant. This was not his first visit there, and sincere ties of friendship many years old bind him to its work force. He knows many people here and remembers their names. In this plant, over 370,000 "Singer" and "Predom-Lucznik" sewing machines are being produced for the home market and for export, and portable and office typewriters are also manufactured, whose annual production exceeds 42,000. These are measurable and definite achievements. There is also no lack of difficulties. Workers, engineers and representatives of the technical division and the management spoke about the economic reform which is being implemented.

During his visit to the production departments, S. Olszowski spoke to employees. Among them were people with a considerable work record, such as Tadeusz Markowski, senior master in the mechanical dressing department, who has been working in the plant for over 12 years; Krystyna Kaczmarzyk (16 years old) from the "Singer" sewing machine collection point, and Marian Fajdek, a fitter, who has worked there for 32 years. There were also young female workers. The talks dealt with various subjects. S. Olszowski was particularly interested in the conditions in which the work force works, especially the women, and in their needs. The workers in the "Walter" plant did not hide their daily troubles and cares, presented their views and opinions on the subject of what is going on around them, and said what they feel and think. The housing deficiency took up a lot of attention.

S. Olszowski also met representatives of the work forces of the largest plants in Radom Voivodship in the "Walter" plant social center. Several dozen questions were asked of him. These concerned problems of a political nature as well as matters connected with the introduction of economic reform. Controversial problems were not avoided, discussion on the activity of Solidarity and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and an appraisal of them was not shunned, and the memorable events which took place in Radom in June 1976 were recalled.

Representatives of the authorities of Radom Voivodship along with Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, and Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, the voivoda, also took part in the meeting.

## MONTHLY'S EDITORIAL COUNCIL ELECTS ORZECHOWSKI

LD262342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] A session of the editorial council of the monthly IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA was held today. Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was elected chairman of the council.

Gen Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the Poznan PZPR Voivodship Committee and member of the Central Committee, was elected deputy chairman. (Jerzy Kamieniecki), editor-in-chief of the paper, reported on the activity of the editorial office and its intentions for the future. During the discussion the active participation of the paper in the ideological and political struggle which is being waged was stressed. [Words indistinct] activity of antisocialist forces in our country as well as confrontation and polemics with ideological currents alien to Marxism.

## PZPR 'PATRIOTIC LEFT' CALLS FOR GENERAL PURGE

PM280959 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Jun 82 p 5

[Part II of Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "The Offensive Against Jaruzelski (Continuation) -- Poland: The 'Hardliners' Demand General Repression"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The party "hardliners" who are now holding press conferences, as Realities Clubs Chairman Grabski has just done, are issuing several documents launching their political program which is in open opposition to that of General Jaruzelski.

According to them the end of martial law cannot come about until a number of preconditions are fulfilled. First the party must be "purged of its opportunist and revisionist elements," its ranks must be consolidated and its leadership role restored. Second it is necessary for "the threat of counterrevolution to be eliminated and the "Solidarity problem" to be solved in such a way that there is "no risk of seeing the pre-13 December organizational and political structure (of the trade union) revived." Finally the normal rate of work must be ensured and the fall in the population's living standard halted. In other words, according to the party's "patriotic left" the lifting of martial law is not imminent.

### Maoist Overtones

Indeed the document expresses the view that, so far, the situation in the party has not improved at all. That is due in particular to "the voices of the revisionists and liquidators who are calling for the dissolution of the Polish United Workers Party and the formation of a new party, or who want to limit that party's role to that of a force supporting the state bodies." The "hardliners" think that there can be no "ideological compromise" within the party and that no amnesty for the machinations of party members is acceptable.

The "patriotic left's" program is also full of workers' idealism and a desire to get back to basics which, at times, are almost touching. The party's working class nature must be strengthened and all forms of corruption, social inequality and injustice, and unfair privilage combated. The broadest possible amnesty must be granted to the workers, since they have been misled. Indeed "the counterrevolution was not born among the working class but among the intelligentsia and the neobourgeoisie." Today, in a largely demoralized country, the party must launch a broad campaign of "national reeducation," the mention of which, strangely enough, has some Maoist overtones. Of course the authors accept that a national accord should be attained -- but provided it is limited to a "coalition of all the nation's patriotic prosocialist forces under the party's leadership."

Of course, the leaders of the party's "hardline" wing advocate coercive measures. "All those who can be convicted of taking action aimed at changing the regime, actions seriously damaging the interests of the state and the nation must be criminally liable." There can be no amnesty here. Moreover, "the practice of exile [banissement] should be used very widely for opposition leaders, especially among the intellectuals whom there is no hope of reeducating."

As regards the trade unions, the program thinks that eventually there should be in Poland "single branch trade unions which are really independent and self-managed." However rather surprisingly, the "hardliners" admit that "in the immediate future it will be necessary to revive Solidarity, but it is appropriate to do so in such a way that it is impossible for the counterrevolution to be revived in Solidarity." If that is to be done a number of conditions must be fulfilled.

New-Formula Solidarity

The points in Solidarity's rules which fix its regional structure must be eliminated, all "antisocialist" elements must be thrown out of the trade union's leadership and the return of Solidarity's original initiators, who were real trade unionists and of whom the Realities Clubs have drawn up a list, must be encouraged. Finally the party's role within Solidarity must be strengthened. There is certainly reason to wonder how much authentic Solidarity worthy of the name would remain after such treatment.

Moreover the advocates of "real socialism" show once again that they take no account of the Polish situation. They accept economic reform and want to struggle against bureaucracy, but they reject the election of enterprise managers and intend to limit the role of the self-managed councils. Above all, according to them, it is necessary to gradually reduce the still extant private sector and gradually collectivize agriculture by the suppression of private peasants (who today own 75 percent of the land). Thus it is easy to see to what new disasters the implementation of such a program could lead.

Of course the most important thing is to know to what extent the Soviets are really prepared to support that current of opinion. There is reason to doubt that they will do so because, as one of them said, "one Ceausescu in the camp is enough" and an ideologically dogmatic but nationalist line in Poland might create serious problems for the Kremlin. But Moscow can use that internal opposition in the party to exert pressure on General Jaruzelski. And you can bet that it will not refrain from doing so.

## TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS ZBOWID PLENUM 23 JUN

AU281506 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 5

[PAP report: "The Active Participation of Combatants in Stabilizing the Life of the Country"]

[Text] On 23 June, the Presidium of the Supreme Council and that of the Main Administration of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, an organization with over 650,000 combatants in its ranks, held a plenary meeting. The main topic of the meeting was an appraisal of the union's activity during the first half of this year, and laying down the main forms of action for it in the immediate future.

Maj Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar, president of the union's Supreme Council, said that the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy is aware of its role in bringing about renewal and national agreement, faithful to the fighting past of its members and motivated by the supreme interest of the nation. It has actively joined in the process of stabilizing the life of the state, rebuilding moral values, shaping a climate for good work and participating in the creation of a wide platform for cooperation among all social forces.

At present, he said, the most important matter for our combatants' organization is a further increase of activity by the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy in line with the progressing normalization in the country's sociopolitical life, and in particular a support for the authorities' efforts to achieve lasting agreement with all the forces supporting socialism.

Referring to the current sociopolitical situation, Gen Moczar reminded everyone that our country belongs to the family of socialist countries which has been a decisive factor in the existence of peace in Europe for over 37 years. We would like Poland to be able to fully carry out the duties resting on its shoulders, he stressed. Whoever wants to interfere with this logical necessity must be resolutely overcome by us, knowledgeable citizens, since such a person is quite simply a destroyer of our fatherland's achievements.

Gen Moczar finally stressed the particular role of combatants in disseminating at home and abroad all the traditions of battle for the national and social liberation of the Polish nation during World War II, and the supreme idea of battle for the establishment of lasting peace.

A report on the union's activity during the past 6 months was presented by Wlodzimierz Sokorski, president of the union's Main Administration. He said that this organization unites over 650,000 members working in over 1,300 parish circles, almost 800 municipal circles and in several hundred municipal-communal and factory circles. Among them are participants in the October Revolution, soldiers from World War I, soldiers from the Silesian and great Poland uprisings, veterans of the battles in Spain, soldiers of September 1939, soldiers of the reistance movement at home and abroad, soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West as well as of the Polish People's Army, prisoners of Nazi concentration camps and mass extermination, and participants in the battles for lasting people's authority during the years 1944-8. So we constitute a panorama of the fortunes of our nation. Throughout its history, the union has endeavored to serve the most vital interests of the state and people well.

## Support for National Agreement

W. Sokorski next said that this organization's members have displayed particular maturity during the past 6 months in actively supporting the resolutions and decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation. Over 13,000 members are participating in the work of the citizens' committees for national rebirth, and they are aware of the idea of national agreement and of the declarations which the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic made in May in connection with this. Out of about 7,000 committees, almost 800 have been formed by the initiative of this organization. In their daily work and in serving the socialist fatherland, combatants always remain faithful to the union's maxim: "Yesterday we were first in battle, today we are first in working for People's Poland."

In the union's ideological and educational activity in the immediate future, particular emphasis will be laid on the young generation's upbringing, W. Sokorski said. Correctly imparting to young people the greatest traditions of the nation's battles for liberation, and also shaping pride in socialism's indisputable achievements among young people, is the right and duty of the combatants, and we cannot shirk this.

In the nearest future, union members will take part in organizing celebrations of such important anniversaries in our history as the rebirth of People's Poland in July, the 38th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, the 40th anniversary of the battles of partisan units of the People's Guard and Army, and the 40th anniversary of the battles which united the forces of the peasants' battalions and Soviet partisans against the Nazi punitive expeditionary force at the village of Wojda. In October, the union will organize a scientific session for the general public to mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Home Army. A scientific session commemorating the 40th anniversary of the start of battles by People's Guard units against the Nazi aggressor was organized in the first half of June in Polichno.

## Integrating Combatants Around the Interests of the State and People

Michal Atlas, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Administrative Section, expressed his recognition and respect for the union's achievements in its work for the fatherland. At present, he said, the most important matter facing members is further activity aimed at integrating combatants around matters concerning the country's welfare, and also ceaseless and ever-increasing care for the social and living conditions of combatants.

Those taking part in the talks stressed that important influence was brought to bear on the union's activity during the past few months by the fact that the union retained and strengthened its ideological and organizational compactness on the basis of the political raison d'etre of the socialist state, and of the points contained in the union's statute. The union should deepen the integration of combatants as part of its further activity. An important feature of this activity is the work of national combatants' committees attached to the union's Main Administration.

An important feature of the union's activity is the joint participation of combatants in the patriotic upbringing of young people. It is essential for the union to take a greater part than up to now in forming a uniform system of patriotic and historical education for young people in close cooperation with ministries and social and youth organizations. The union central administration's committee for cooperation with young people and the historical committee have a particularly important role to play. Referring to the union's social activity, the speakers stressed the satisfaction gained by veterans of national liberation battles from the Polish People's Republic's Sejm adopting in May the law entitled "Concerning the Particular Powers of Combatants." The law is important evidence that the contribution by people belonging to the fighting and working generation to the country's liberation and post-war development is honored.

During the talks, problems connected with the international activity of combatants, including the union's participation in the work of the federation of antifascist and combatants' associations, were also dealt with. The need to strengthen the union's contacts with Polish combatants' associations abroad was pointed out.

The following spoke during the meeting: Stanislaw Kujda, Mieczyslaw Grudzien, Franciszek Ksiecarczyk, Witold Wikorski, Eugeniusz Szyr, Halina Pietkiewicz, Seweryna Szmaglewska, Franciszek Skibinski, Jan Capla and Zygmunt Bieszczanin.

In the resolution which was adopted at the end of the talks, the presidium of the union's Supreme Council and that of its Main Administration thanked the aktivs, members and circles of the union for the patriotic attitude and dedicated activity in strengtheing our fatherland. In the resolution, concern was also expressed for the deteriorating international situation and full support was given for the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and all the progressive social forces and movements which act for the cause of peace and disarmament.

## PROSECUTOR REPORTS ARREST OF SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST

LD281846 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] The military garrison prosecutor's office in Krakow has reported that Stanislaw (Handlik), deputy chairman of the worker committee of metallurgists of NSZZ Solidarity at the Lenin steelworks, has been detained and arrested. He is accused of coorganizing a strike at the Krakow works after the introduction of martial law on 13 December last year, leading the publication of prints and leaflets calling for the continuation of protest action.

After the strike was ended, Stanislaw (Handlik) went underground, signing with his name illegal printings of an anti-state nature. Warrants of arrest had been issued for him. The investigation continues.

## URBAN WRITES ON JUSTICE, SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

LD271750 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1045 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Summary] "At the end of today's review of periodicals we have excerpts from an article by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban in TU I TREREZ entitled: 'Very Important Persons.'

"The author warns against an impetuous and simplified solution to the issue of responsibility of formerly very important persons which, in his opinion, is being demanded by public opinion.

"In Jerzy Urban's article we read: The 1970's created a sense of injustice felt by the public connected with the notorious immunity for privileged persons. At present there is something like a public demand for the assertion that Geirek's people are a gang of big thieves who robbed Poland.

"The public does not want a moral point of that kind; it desires a simple and easy to understand explanation, for every citizen does not know the secrets of the economy -- why is it that it is so bad if it used to be so good, and what happened to all this great wealth in the nation which was built by the public?"

Trials which are to take place before the State Tribunal will confuse the public. There will be no easy verdicts. In a way we are all guilty of the mess which we find ourselves in at present. The government of the 1970's was under social pressures to perform miracles. Some of the purchased licences were excellent but were ruined by workforces during the production process. Political decisions adopted then were approved by various people, party echelons and the Sejm. The public, in fact approved the government economic program. Thirty-five million Poles are responsible for the 1970's although their degree of accountability is different.

"Progress in democracy depends on the level of political culture, and this was drastically proved in 1981. Pleasing the public by using the very important persons would mean to cripple society and the state. It would be political degeneration and would ruin the moral and legal basis for our renewal aspirations."

## PZPR ORGAN ON ECONOMIC REFORM, SOLIDARITY PERIOD

PM251135 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Krzysztof Krauss article: "Reform's Chances Unblocked"]

[Text] "The congress acknowledges," we read in the resolution adopted by the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress, "that the implementation of economic reform as soon as possible is the party's duty and an obligation to the entire community." The resolution did not mention any specific deadlines, but it was generally felt that the economic reform should come into force as from 1 January 1982. This was expected, and these expectations have been fulfilled. So can it be said that this point of the resolution has already been implemented? An unequivocally positive answer to this question would be a simplification of the essentially complex process of transforming economic structures and management mechanisms.

The path to a thorough, comprehensive rebuilding of the mechanisms governing the planning, management and administration of the national economy is an arduous one. Reform is a long-term process, and economic and social results cannot appear automatically as soon as laws are enacted. It will take time to ensure the success of the initiated transformations because they extend beyond the economic sphere. It indispensable to ensure a change in the way of thinking among both production managers and actual producers. Patience and consistency in action are also needed, because the reform is being implemented in unusually complex times.

Difficulties have arisen, among other things, as a result of prolonged disproportions in the economic sphere over many years, the spread of anarchy with which we had to deal for nearly 18 months, and the economic blockade of Poland by the United States and other NATO countries.

### Counteraction Is Called For

The reform has also been endangered by the fact that a considerable proportion of the central as well as the state economic apparatus has become accustomed to rely on the system of handing down injunctions as its main instrument for controlling economic processes. Furthermore, the reform has been endangered by the fact that the art of utilizing economic instruments to coordinate sectional, trade and enterprise interests with general interests has not been mastered completely as well as by the fact that the instruments concerned are imperfect.

These are real difficulties and dangers whose existence should be realized and which should indeed be checked. They are being checked by the party and the state leadership.

After 6 months of experiments let us nonetheless ask ourselves how the present difficulties and the dangers relating to the reform differ from the dangers with which we were confronted prior to 13 December 1981. Was there at that time any hope at all that the principles of the reform would be implemented?

On 1 January 1982, the economic reform became a fact. It is based partly on two "constitutional" acts, that is, the law on enterprises and the law on workers' self-management, which were adopted by the Sejm in September 1981, and partly -- since the beginning of the year -- on a "legal provisional arrangement," that is, the Council of Ministers' November resolution concerning the principles which are to govern the activities of state enterprises in 1982. Most of those provisional solutions have now been replaced with laws adopted by the Sejm. No matter how you assess the difficulties and complications with which we are still confronted while implementing the reform, they are in fact closely and directly connected with martial law.

## It Was a Question of Time

Let us try to look back. A year or even a few months ago, the date of 1 January 1982 as the deadline for initiating the reform was, to say the least, uncertain. In mid-1981, the reform commission which was appointed on the party's initiative and which broadly represented the entire economic community and the economic aktiv as well as the social and trade union aktiv, including NSZZ Solidarity, concluded most of its work. The first draft laws, which were to establish the basis for the new role to be played by enterprises in the economic sphere and the work force's new role in enterprise management were submitted to the Sejm.

It was precisely at that moment that the extremist NSZZ Solidarity leadership proposed its own, "rival" concept of so-called social enterprises. The essence of that concept was this: It called into question the principle of public ownership of the main means of production which was to be replaced with the principle of group ownership. The state's right and duty to control the country's fundamental development processes were challenged and attempts were made to deprive the state of influence on major decisions in the economic sphere. It was an anarcho-syndicalist concept which was eventually bound to lead to the return to private ownership of means of production in Poland.

Faced with the Sejm's determined stance and general public criticism, the extremist groups in Solidarity leadership apparently gave way. Solidarity's representatives, who were asked to participate in the work of relevant Sejm commissions, accepted the basic principles of the draft laws relating to enterprises and self-management.

However, almost at the very moment when these draft laws became binding documents, their boycott was advocated at the trade union's national congress in Gdansk's "Olivia." It was not merely and "appeal" but a specific instruction to be followed by central, regional and enterprise NSZZ Solidarity organizations in their activitires. Also Solidarity's energy and efforts were then directed toward creating in enterprises its own "management organs" (at first, Solidarity was not interested in self-mangement) and later -- through those "organs" -- toward removing from executive positions in the economic sector people deemed insufficiently obedient to the new pretenders to power. In the last stage, efforts were made to remove party committees from enterprises.

In view of delays occurring in the Sejm's work relating to further laws which were to create a legal framework for the reform -- delays caused, among other things, by a prolongation of consultations with the new trade union movement -- the government suggested some provisional solutions. It suggested that work relating to laws continue in the Sejm as long as necessary in order to ensure a completely mature form for these laws, that consultations continue provided they were held on an extemporaneous basis -- on the strength of government resolutions -- and that enterprises be allowed to base their activities on self-dependence, self-management and self-financing.

Those principles as well as the generally accepted new relationship between the "center" and production organizations, consistent with the guiding princples of the reform, and the new rights of enterprises relating to control over resources earned by them as well as to foreign trade, prices and so forth, also consistent with the guiding principles of the reform, would become binding. As the Sejm concludes the debate on specific essential legal acts connected with the reform, regulations resulting from provisional resolutions adopted by the government would be appropriately modified. It was a question of time as well as of ensuring that the opportunities created by the principles of the reform for protecting the economy from overwhelming difficulties were seized without delay.

However, the NSZZ Solidarity leadership stated its opposition also to that proposal, without even trying to put forward any arguments for the sake of appearances. It behaved as if it were participating in a noblemen's regional council debate -- it just "vetoed" the proposal. Let us add to all this the dismantling of the material bases of the economy -- strikes for trivial reasons or no reason at all, extortion of promises that working time would be cut without any attention being paid to the economic consequences of such decisions, obstructing exports and so forth -- which began at the end of 1980 and continued throughout 1981, and we will obtain the picture of the concept for which the political opposition in Poland fought.

Under the circumstances, the economic reform had no chance whatever of being implemented. The hope graudally faded that it would be possible to do anything at all to check the race toward economic disaster.

The introduction of martial law checked that race. In addition to other chances of normalization, it created a chance for an economic reform, it unblocked it. While restoring preconditions for stabilization, martial law introduced a new factor into the social mechanism -- it limited some elements of the reform. They will be resotred as normalization progresses.

However, without martial law, there would be no reform....

## NATIONAL REBIRTH COMMITTEES ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

AU261032 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Jerzy Nogiec report: "Active on Every Farm"]

[Text] The Citizens' Committee for National Salvation in the rural parish of Santok near Gorzow was one of the first in the voivodship and one of the first in Poland to be established in a rural area. This is what people in Santok say, but this is not the most important matter.

The initiative group consisted of as many as 44 people. What kind of people? People whose authority was not questioned by anybody.

It consisted of such people as Antoni Zygmund, a young doctor; Jan Papierowski from Gralew, 30-years old, nonparty and excellent farmer; Wojciech Woloszczuk from Janczew, 30-years old, a ZSL member and part of a family team that has 500 hogs and supplies the state not only with considerabel quanitites of meat but also of grain; and Tadeusz Rajna from Plomykow, who was a delegate at the Ninth PZPR Congress. All are respected in the rural parish.

This committee was formed on 7 January 1982, and, it is said, was active right from the start.

Santok lies on junction of the rivers Warta and Notec. There is never a year without a flood of some size. The flood situation was menacing this spring and people had to be evacuated. But it was far more menacing on the Vistual around Plock. So the first thing the Santok Citizens' Committee for National Salvation did was to organize material help for the flood victims of this area. All the members of the initiative group went around the villages and farms as one man, and in 4 days collected a truckload of clothing, 1,500 kg of grain and over Z130,000, with which 7 cartloads of hay were bought.

It was briefly said in the report that a truck from Santok was one of the first vehicles to arrive with help for the flood victims. While collections were going on, the procurement of badly-needed grain was discussed with farmers. Farmers then discussed the matter among themselves, and the procurement was set into motion. Although there was 5 percent less grain than planned, this result was excellent in view of the tragic situation that had arisen here.

The salvation committee became a committee for national rebirth. This change is significant, said Tadeusz Rajna, its chairman. We do not want to take the place of the authorities and the administration, we do not want to do anyone else's work. But we do want to be the mouthpiece of the views of the inhabitants, encourage initiative, sort out diffcult matters and also take care that the administration is correctly reacting to the needs of the inhabitants and that it is relying on public opinion.

Up to now, our citizens committee for national rebirth has acted like a military staff [sztabowo]. The aktivs were the ones who were active. Now the presidium has reached the conclusion that the methods of action must be changed and that new allies must be won on every farm, said Edward Radecki, first secretary of the PZPR rural parish committee. That is why several commissions have been formed, every one of which will work according to a definite plan. For example, Antoni Zygmund is in charge of the social and health commission. Soon there will be rural meetings at which individual commissions will canvass for volunteers. It is a question of the aktivs of the citizens committees for national rebirth in individual villages being able to deal with certain matters by themselves, produce conclusions and proposals, seeing that the wells are kept clear, organizing care for those who need help, spreading knowledge about hygiene and so on. The intention of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth is to make the inhabitants of the rural parish active on a wide scale. This is an intelligent and far-sighted plan, the secretary said.

Activists in the Citizens Committee for National Rebirth express the following view: It is not true that farmers see no further than beyond the perimeter of their own fields. Their village, rural parish and Poland interest them to varying degrees.

The Citizens Committee for National Rebirth is not playing at bureaucracy. But it records what is necessary. It does so briefly and concisely. This makes it easier to check if conclusions have been dealt with. So there is not a lot of paper, but it makes interesting reading and shows that the aktivs of the committee are not acting in a spectacular fashion by any means, but that they are thinking with foresight.

As far as culture is concerned, rural areas cannot be condemned only to watching television. On the initiative of the aktivs, a community culture center is already being built. Thought is being devoted on how to enliven cultural life and how to extend the Santok museum.

During one of the meetings, people wondered how to act, in order to fulfill the committee's fundamental role and how to establish widely-conceived national agreement. The involvement of as large a number of inhabitants as possible in active and voluntary work, each according to his desires and interests, was recognized as the most important matter. It was considered necessary to convince people that although a lot depends on the authorities, many matters nevertheless depend above all on the activeness of the inhabitants themselves, and they will be active when the Citizens Committee for National Rebirth and the administrative bodies begin to ask for theri opinion and take every voice and word of criticism seriously. Finally, the most important matter. If the Citizens Committee for National Rebirth takes matters in hand, it must solve them. That is the way it has been up to now and maybe that is the reason why more and more people are volunteering to work with the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth, and they are people who cannot complain about having nothing to do on their own farms.

## CZYREK HOLDS TALKS WITH VATICAN OFFICIALS

LD281806 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek received Archbishop Luigi Poggi, head of a group promoting working contacts between the Apostolic See and the Polish Government. During their talks the two discussed the most important issues of international situation being interesting both for the Polish Government and the Apostolic See. Certain issues connected with the further development of relations between Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See were also touched upon.

Archbishop Luigi Poggi was also received today by the head of the Office for Religious Affairs, Minister Adam Lopatka. Their talks concerned the issues of state-church relations.

## PZPR'S SIWICKI RECEIVES PALESTINIAN VISITORS

LD251754 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Gen Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and member of the Military Council of National Salvation, has received 'Abdallah Hijazi and Fu'ad Yasin, representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The two sides discussed topics of mutual interest. Particular attention was devoted to the situation in the Middle East, with regard to the Israeli aggression against Lebanon.

## JOZEF CZYREK MEETS WITH ISRAELI CP OFFICIAL

LD262132 Warsaw PAP in English 1437 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Warsaw 26 June (PAP) -- Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek today met with Political Bureau member, CC Secretary of Communist Party of Israel David Khenin. They exchanged views on the current situation in the Middle East, particularly in the light of the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon. The two also discussed some issues concerning the consolidation of cooperation and contacts between the Polish United Workers Party and Communist Party of Israel.

The meeting was attended by PUWP CC Foreign Department head Wlodzimierz Natorf.

## BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO USSR -- Stanislaw Kociolek, Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union, presented his credentials to Vasiliy Kuznetsov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on Wednesday. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jun 82 pp 1, 7 AU]

## RICHARD NIXON ARRIVES FOR PERSONAL VISIT

AU281839 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Richard Nixon, former president of the United States of America, arrived in Bucharest this afternoon as the personal guest of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. The guest was met at Otopeni Airport by Comrades Gheorghe Radulescu, vice president of the State Council; Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state and adviser to the president; and Deputy Foreign Minister Gheorghe Dolgu. Also present were Samuel Frey, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim to Bucharest, and members of the embassy staff.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the republic, received Richard Nixon this afternoon. They exchanged detailed views on the development of Romanian-American relations and on various aspects of the international situation. The talk proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

## REAGAN MEETING WITH ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR REPORTED

AU261928 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Washington (AGERPRES) 26/6/1982 -- On June 25, the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, received Mircea Malita who presented his letters of credence as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania.

The President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, and Mrs. Nancy Reagan were conveyed best wishes of good health and personal happiness, as well as wishes of prosperity, peace and progress to the American people from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu. Satisfaction was expressed for the fact that, on the basis of the principles de jure sanctioned by the Romanian-American summit understandings, productive relations had developed in all fields of activity and that multiple possibilities existed to expand and deepen collaboration both in the domains of bilateral relations, of commercial, scientific, and cultural-artistic exchanges, and in the international arena, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of interstate differences, for the constructive resolution of the major problems facing contemporary mankind.

Thanking for the wishes, President Ronald Reagan requested that best wishes of success, prosperity and peace be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, to the Romanian people. Mentioning that bilateral relations with Romania had developed so well in the last few years due particularly to the application of the principles of mutual respect, acknowledgement of equal sovereignty and national independence. President Ronald Reagan showed that he valued the relations with Romania, her independent foreign policy, and shared the wish for the lessening of tension in the world so that the peoples might develop in peace. He expressed his belief that the bilateral relations would intensify and the points of view would get still closer leading to a steady development of cooperation and understanding.

The ceremony, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by John Scalan, assistant to the undersecretary of state for Europe, Richard Pipes, adviser at the National Security Council, and other officials.

## DANISH FINANCE MINISTER ARRIVES 28 JUNE

AU281956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest (AGERPRES) 28/6/1982 -- Knud Heinesen, deputy chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, minister of finance of Denmark, arrived in Bucharest on June 28, at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petre Gigea, minister of finance.

## CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT EDUCATION, CULTURE CONGRESS

AU251830 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 25 June closing session of the Second Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in Bucharest -- recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, at the end of the Second Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture we can state with complete satisfaction that its proceedings have been a forceful manifestation of the unity of the front of political education and culture in the struggle to implement the 12th party congress decisions and the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism. [applause]

It can be stated that the debates held both in plenum and in sections were characterized by a spirit of great communist exactingness and responsibility. All the speakers presented in detail the extensive activities carried out since the first congress to date, the noteworthy successes attained in political-educational and cultural-artistic activities aimed at raising the socialist consciousness and at shaping the new man. At the same time, the speakers criticized and even adopted self-critical positions toward failings and mistakes in various sectors of activities. Naturally, there is still room for both criticism and self-criticism. I hope that the debates will now be followed by thorough analyses at all units and in all counties in the attempt to eliminate the failings and to ensure optimal political-educational and cultural-artistic activities. [applause]

At the same time, many important proposals were advanced with a view to improving activities in all areas of education and culture. They will all have to be thoroughly examined by the Council for Education and Culture and by party-state bodies and organizations, and everything that will be found to contribute to improving activities will be retained. As far as I can tell, there were many proposals worthy of attention. I would like to mention one of them -- namely, to give greater attention to the Romanian language, literature and history. [applause] One cannot speak of political education and revolutionary culture without a profound knowledge of the language, literature and glorious history of our people. [applause]

The unanimously adopted program of measures concerning political and cultural-educational actions that will be undertaken to shape the new man -- having a high socialist consciousness and being a devoted builder of socialism and communism in Romania -- will permit us to unite all the forces of the great front of workers employed in political-educational and cultural areas in order to raise revolutionary consciousness. All the congress debates and the adopted program of measures forcefully highlight the importance of the party Central Committee plenum and of its documents on theoretical and ideological activities. We have a comprehensive program of political and cultural activities. We must now resolutely begin to organize and carry out all activities under the best of conditions.

At this congress, too, I want to stress the role of production forces as a revolutionary, decisive factor for the victory of socialism and communism. We must never forget that we must do everything possible to unabatedly implement the socioeconomic development plan, thus ensuring a sound technical-material basis for the general development of the country, for continuously raising the material and cultural living standard of the people -- the supreme goal of all party policies and the essence of the socialist society we are building in Romania. [applause]

Political-educational and cultural activities must be centered on work to optimally implement the plan in each unit, on raising labor productivity and increasing economic efficiency. On that basis we will be able to increase even more the national income and wealth of our fatherland -- the only way to ensure the necessary means to implement our program for progress and civilization. [applause]

Mass political-educational and cultural activities must educate the working and all other people, especially the young people of our country, in a spirit of devoted work to continuously develop the fatherland, based on the socialist principle of no work without bread and no bread without work. An education for work and through work must lead toward implanting a great revolutionary and patriotic consciousness in all the wonderful and enthusiastic builders of a socialist and communist society. [applause]

Simultaneously, as I stressed at the recent Central Committee plenum, we must educate the working people, regardless of nationality, and all our young people in a spirit of revolutionary patriotism, of love for the party, people and fatherland, and of determination to always serve the cause of socialism, of the people's well-being and of socialist Romania's sovereignty and independence in all circumstances. [applause]

We must be increasingly guided by the fact that political education and raising people's cultural level require multilateral knowledge in all socioeconomic areas, familiarity with the wonderful achievements of national and international science and human knowledge. Achieving a high-quality production -- from both a technical and aesthetic viewpoint -- is proof of a high cultural level. New discoveries, perfected technologies and intensified research in all areas are all acts of culture. Miners, team members working on the Danube-Black Sea canal, as well as all workers, show a high level of professional and technical culture by achieving the wonderful objectives of socialism and investing in them their skills, thought, enthusiasm and devotion to the fatherland and socialism. [applause]

Comrades, I want to stress this because it must be clear to us that there is still much to do to generally raise the level of culture and socialist, revolutionary education which must prevail in all activities, in everything that is planned and achieved, in our people's lives and work. [applause]

I do not want the comrades employed in the area of literary-artistic creation to gain the impression that I underestimate in any way the role of that sector. As I said at the plenum and will undoubtedly repeat, those sectors play an important role in political-educational activities. However, no matter how we look at things, they constitute only one aspect of activities to shape the new man, a man with multilateral knowledge, a genuine revolutionary in all his activities and in his life. [applause]

All political-educational and cultural activities must always be based on our revolutionary outlook of the world and life: dialectical and historical materialism, on the lofty principles of scientific socialism. All culture and education activities must be aimed at shaping a high revolutionary consciousness in the new man, conscious builder of his history and of his free and independent communist future. [applause]

At the same time, political-educational activities aimed at raising the cultural level of the large masses must intensively develop a revolutionary spirit of work and struggle, must promote the humanitarian spirit characteristic of our people, the spirit of revolutionary humanism -- the spirit of the socialist society in which man is the primordial factor. Man's well-being, happiness and freedom constitute the supreme goal of our Communist Party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society. [applause]

Proceeding from the dialectical unity between the development of production forces and ideological activities, political-educational and cultural activities must turn this aspect into a forceful factor of general development in the Romanian socialist society. It may be stated that the congress proceedings have been turned into a superior political-educational school, into a forceful manifestation of the workers' revolutionary democracy in which the masses and the working people, regardless of nationality, are actively participating in mapping out all our country's foreign and domestic policies.

The congress forcefully demonstrated that in the area of political education and culture, too, the masses' democratic participation in working out programs and in implementing them constitute an additional proof of the democracy of our system, and the safe guarantee for the consistent implementation of the decisions adopted. [applause]

The debates correctly stressed the need to raise the level of activities within the framework of the Song to Romania National Festival, which provides an extensive organizational opportunity for the masses to participate in cultural-artistic activities, to develop activities in all areas, and to take part in the most valuable achievements of our socialist society. It can be stated that within the Song to Romania National Festival the working people are both the authors of new works, the participants and those who profit from such activities. This clearly demonstrates the creative force, energies and invaluable talent of our wonderful people. We are dutybound to continuously raise the level of those activities and to ensure that the Song to Romania National Festival proceeds in the best possible conditions, thus developing it into a strong creative force of our entire socialist nation, of the people -- the true creators of culture and of everything attained in our fatherland. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

As has been rightly stressed in the congress debates, we must develop literature and art of all genres more intensively. Literary-artistic works must forcefully reflect the life, work and aspirations of our people, must contribute to cultivating feelings of social and national justice, a sense of work and humanity, must contribute to shaping the new man with a lofty revolutionary-patriotic consciousness, determined to overcome any difficulties and to firmly advance toward the communist society -- mankind's golden dream. [chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

The Council of Education and Socialist Culture, all cultural-educational institutions and media must learn the due lessons from past activities and from the debates of the second congress, and must act in complete unity to eliminate the failings noted, to improve all activities and to implement the party's policy in the political-educational and cultural-artistic areas and in efforts to shape a lofty revolutionary consciousness in all our people. [applause]

The congress has emphasized that we have great forces and enormous cultural-educational resources, which constitute the safe guarantee that the entire educational-cultural program of shaping and raising people's revolutionary consciousness -- regardless of nationality -- will be implemented, and that a new man will be shaped, a man armed with the most advanced achievements of science, culture and human knowledge in all areas. That is the only basis on which we can achieve the objective established in the party program by the 12th congress and by the recent plenum. Only thus, armed with the most advanced knowledge in all areas, will our people be able to secure a dignified place among the nations of the world and to develop freely and independently. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the people"]

Dear comrades and friends, we must resolutely unite all the forces of our society within the framework of the socialist democracy and unity front in the struggle and work to implement our socioeconomic development program, to continuously raise the material and cultural living standard, to raise our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization, and to continuously increase the material and spiritual force of Socialist Romania, its independence and sovereignty. [applause]

Dear comrades and friends, the international situation is characterized by extreme tension, by sharpening contradictions among various states and groups of states, by the stockpiling of increasing quantities of mass destruction weapons resulting from the arms race, by a continuous deterioration and aggravation of the international economic situation, by deepening gaps between rich and poor countries.

At the same time, the peoples are intensifying their struggle. Their determination is growing to do everything to finally eliminate the imperialist and neocolonialist policies, to strengthen national independence and sovereignty, and to build a world free of war, a world of cooperation and peace. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu -- peace"]

Amid the complex circumstances of international life, Romania resolutely speaks out for resolving the existing conflicts, for eliminating military actions and for settling all problems solely through negotiations. As I stressed on other occasions, too, however laborious negotiations may be, however long time they may require, they are still the only rational way. In this spirit, we resolutely speak out for halting military actions and for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon, for settling the Middle East problems through political negotiations with the participation of all the sides involved, including the PLO, with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace, conducive to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and to a solution to the Palestinian people's problem, a solution based on their right to self-determination and to establishing an independent Palestinian state. A lasting peace must be based on recognition of an independent Palestinian state and on recognition of the Palestinian people's right to free development, as well as on recognition of and on ensuring the integrity and independence of the state of Israel. Once again I want to stress that every possible effort must be made to eschew military options, to solve all interstate conflicts solely through negotiations. This is in keeping with both the interests of the respective peoples and with the general cause of international cooperation and peace. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and Romania, our esteem and pride"]

We resolutely speak out for halting the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles and for withdrawing existing ones, for a Europe free of all nuclear missiles. We believe that the Madrid meeting this fall should work out the best possible agreements on developing cooperation and ensuring the security of all European states, on convening a conference on disarmament and confidence in Europe, and on forging a united Europe of peaceful cooperation on the basis of respect for the system and independence of each nation. [applause]

We attach special importance to cooperation and peace in the Balkans. We firmly advocate the establishment of a nuclear-free area in the Balkans. For that purpose, we believe that we must prepare and organize a summit conference capable of promoting that unanimous desideratum of the Balkan peoples.

In view of the arms race and of the increasing stockpiles of weapons and military spending, the fundamental problem of our times is to halt the arms race and to proceed to general -- primarily nuclear -- disarmament, to eliminate wars from mankind's life and to ensure a lasting peace in the world. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu-peace"]

The UN special session on disarmament has forcefully highlighted the determination of all peoples to resolutely proceed to adopt specific disarmament measures. Nothing can justify the continuation of the arms race. Nothing can justify military actions and the use of force Romania and our people have presented extensive, specific proposals on disarmament at the United Nations, accompanied by the signature of 18 million Romanian citizens who, like other peoples, have expressed and are forcefully expressing their wish and determination to halt the arms race and to secure peace and peoples' right to independence and life. [chants of "Ceausescu-peace"]

We hail the Soviet Union's pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We believe that the United States and the other nuclear powers should also assume such pledges. However, we believe that resolute measures should be adopted to considerably cut back the existing nuclear arms to the lowest possible level. A specific program should be established -- under effective international control -- on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from military aresenals on all the continents. [chants of "disarmament-peace"]

At the same time, we find very justified many nations' concerns about conventional weapons. Hence, we believe that simultaneous, resolute steps should also be taken to reduce conventional and all other mass-destruction weapons. In that respect, too, Romania has presented specific and well-known proposals at the United Nations. The nations' wishes must be taken into consideration. The peoples are resolutely expressing, in various ways, their desire for disarmament and peace. As far as we are concerned, we will further work energetically together with all peoples and states to achieve mankind's vital aspiration and to secure the people's supreme right to life, existence and peace. [applause, chants]

Romania is doing everything possible to strengthen the cooperation and solidarity of the developing countries in their struggle to establish a new world economic order in view of the fact that only if the gaps between poor and rich countries are reduced and only if the developing countries are helped to develop more rapidly can conditions be created for economic stability and development. Only then can genuinely equal cooperation and lasting peace be secured in the world. [applause]

We are firmly convinced that the masses of the world are capable of and will be able to solve mankind's complex problems in a spirit of social and national justice and in keeping with the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. [applause]

We attach great importance to the Nonaligned Movement and to the meeting scheduled to take place this fall in Baghdad. We believe that we must do everything to increase the role of the United Nations and of all international bodies in solving the complex contemporary problems. Romania will firmly work to develop its relations with the socialist, developing and developed capitalist countries. We will endeavor to contribute to the establishment of a new policy based on the principles of mutual respect and equality and on all the states' equal participation in dealing with the grave international problems in accordance with the interests of all the nations, their well-being, independence and happiness. [chants of "Ceausescu-peace"]

Culture and art play an important role in the realm of understanding, friendship and cooperation among nations. By developing international cooperation in this area, too, and by popularizing the literary-artistic and cultural works of our people we will endeavor to contribute to developing the friendship and cooperation among peoples and to the general cause of a world of friendship and peaceful cooperation. [applause]

Our party and Socialist Romania will continuously strengthen their unity and cooperation with all progressive, democratic parties and forces of the world, with the European and other peoples, in the conviction that by working in a lofty spirit of responsibility we will be capable of ensuring the triumph of reason and peace and of forging a better and more just world on our planet, in which each people and nation can develop according to their wishes, without fear of aggression, and can freely pursue their well-being and happiness. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu-peace"]

Dear comrades and friends, I want to conclude by once again expressing my full conviction that the proceedings of the Second Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture will mark a moment of exceptional importance for all our efforts to shape the new man, for building socialism and communism on Romania. [chants of "Ceausescu and the people"] When they return to their place of work, to their counties and units, all the congress participants must resolutely endeavor to implement this year's socioeconomic development plan and to ensure optimal work in all areas. Let us demonstrate in practice, in our daily life, the close link between work and cultural-educational activities, between the development of production forces and ideological activities, because these two aspects constitute a unitary whole which ensures our fatherland's firm progress in implementing the party program and the 12th congress decisions, toward achieving the basic objective of a new quality of work and life and toward raising our fatherland to a higher level of development.

Only thus will we appropriately fulfill the decisions adopted and will demonstrate that the ideological, educational and cultural front constitutes a great material force which plays a decisive role, together with the production forces, in the continuous development of our fatherland, and contribures to the victory of socialism and communist, to continuously consolidating our country's independence, and to improving the people's general well-being. [applause, cheers]

I want to convey to all the working people, regardless of nationality, to all our people, warmest congratulations for the wonderful achievements attained in all areas, and wishes for ever new successes in their work and life. [applause, cheers] I wish you and all our people good health and happiness. I wish you, the participants in the great congress of education and culture, ever greater successes. May you constitute a strong force, a strong detachment of culture and education, in close unity with the people. [cheers, chants]

Long live the RCP, the leading political force of our entire nation. [cheers, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Long live our wonderful people, builders of socialism. Long live our free and independent fatherland, Romania. [cheers, chants]

Long live the cooperation among all the nations of the world. Long live peace. [cheers, chants]

## INDONESIA FOREIGN MINISTER TO ARRIVE 30 JUNE

AU251025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0910 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, (AGERPRES) 25 Jun 82 -- Dr Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, will pay an official visit to Romania from June 30 to July 4, at the invitation of Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania.

## CEAUSESCU RECEIVES DEPARTING LIBERIAN ENVOY

AU281525 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Text] The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, this afternoon received Joseph Zubah, ambassador of the Republic of Liberia, on a farewell visit at the end of his mission to our country. A cordial talk ensured on the occasion.

## BRIEFS

RCP ACTIVISTS IN MOSCOW -- A delegation of RCP activists led by Comrade Ioachim Moga, RCP Central Committee member and first deputy chief of the Organization Department of the RCP Central Committee, which is visiting the Soviet Union for an exchange of experience, has been received by I.V. Kaptionov, CPSU Central Committee secretary. Romania's ambassador to the USSR, Traian Dudas, was present at the talks, which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jun 82 p 6 AU]

DELEGATION IN FRG -- Continuing its FRG visit, the Grand National Assembly delegation led by Comrade Nicolae Giosan, visited Baden-Wuerttemberg where they had meetings and talks with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of that district, and with Lothar Gaa, chairman of the local government, and with other officials. The delegation also visited economic units and socio-cultural establishments, as well as research and educational institutions. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jun 82 p 6 AU]

FRENCH SHIPS AT CONSTANTA -- Bucharest, AGERPRES 26 Jun 82 -- On June 26, the French ships La Galissonniere and D'Estienne called at the Romanian port of Constanta. The same day, frigate Captain Claude le Roy, accompanied by a group of French officers, made formal calls on the mayor of Constanta municipality and on the commander of the military marine. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 26 Jun 82 AU]

## REPORTAGE OF 12TH LCY CONGRESS CONTINUES

### Congress Schedule Previewed

AU251550 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 25 June carries a feature on the 12th LCY Congress. It states that the congress will open at the Sava Center in Belgrade on 26 June at 1000 hours [0900 GMT]. At the first plenary session, "Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will submit his report, 'The Struggle of the LCY for a Comprehensive Advancement of Socialist Self-Managing and Nonaligned Yugoslavia.'" In the afternoon, the congress will meet in six commissions, which will also sit on Sunday and Monday, 27 and 28 June. "At the second plenary session on Tuesday, 29 June, the reports of the congress commissions will be adopted. At the third and last plenary session on that last day, the congress concluding documents will be adopted and a new LCY Central Committee and its organs will be elected."

The radio reports that about 1,200 Yugoslav and foreign journalists will cover the congress. "You will be able to follow the congress through our program, too, tomorrow, on the first day of the congress. At 0945 hours [0845 GMT], a live relay of the first plenary session will begin on a national hookup of Yugoslav radio stations. In regular and special casts to be prepared by a joint editorial team of the Yugoslav radio pool, over 1000 journalists and technicians will present to you the events and the atmosphere at the 12th LCY Congress," the radio says.

### Culafic Opening Session Speech

LD262050 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Speech by Dobroslav Culafic at the first plenary session of the 12th LCY Congress in Belgrade on 26 June -- live]

[Excerpts] [Culafic] Comrades, on behalf of the working presidium of the 12th LCY Congress, I would like to thank you for the confidence you have shown in my by entrusting me with chairing the 12th congress.

Comrade delegates and guests of the 12th LCY Congress, we are holding the highest gathering of Yugoslav Communists in the liberated country for the first time without Josip Broz Tito. At this moment, the awareness of this overwhelms not only us, the delegates of the 12th LCY Congress, but also all of our Communists and working people, all of the nations and nationalities of our country, because Tito's work is the lasting foundation of our battles for socialism and self-management that we are fighting today and those that we will be fighting tomorrow.

Josip Broz Tito is the foremost and greatest historical personality of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. He became one because he made the decisive contribution to transforming their historical aspirations into joint revolutionary action, so that their centuries of slavery and suffering could be replaced by life and progress for all in peace, independence and freedom. Their unity and strength in the struggle to preserve their identity, their vital interests and their dignity have already stood the severest test. That, too, is inseparable from the name of Josip Broz Tito.

It is an epoch-making achievement of our revolutionary movement, which was headed by Tito, when, in response to the progress of society, combined in a unified process the liberating mission with radical social transformation and the struggle for the liberation of the country with the socialist revolution. [sentence as heard] A Marxist thinker and revolutionary who did not separate concrete action from vision, Tito deeply penetrated the meaning and motivating forces of social development. Under Tito's leadership, our party organized these forces and resolutely channeled them in the direction and along the roads leading to the realization of revolutionary all-comprising liberating goals.

Tito inseparably linked the working class as the most progressive social force -- to which he himself belonged -- with all of the working people. He combined the revolutionary awareness of the proletarian fighters with the patriotic feelings of the people, and class interests with national ones. He proceeded from the realization that the struggle must be waged by the vanguard and that it could be brought to a successful conclusion with the broad people's masses. The brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of our country -- Tito's fundamental orientation -- turned into the motivating power behind the revolution and then became the basic guarantee of the revolution's achievements.

Socialist self-management -- as a way to throw off all forms of class domination and all forms of alienation of man, as the path leading to the creation of a free association of direct producers -- became the essential mark of the Yugoslav revolution. It is an historical fact that the experience and practice of Yugoslav self-management, together with our decisive struggle for equal relations between workers and communist parties and socialist countries, helped to strengthen socialism as a world process.

Tito never separated the development of Yugoslavia and its future from international events or from the future of mankind. Through his tireless efforts as a statesman and through the strength of his exceptional personality, he made an inestimable contribution to affirming the principles of independence, equality, noninterference in internal affairs and the inalienable right of every people to decide for themselves on their own development and fate.

In the struggle for the aforementioned principles, above all in the defense of the freedom and independence of countries and in the defense of world peace as a condition of all progress, Tito's policy of nonalignment was and remains an irreplaceable moral political force in the modern world. In these somber days, filled with new military clashes and increasingly great fears for peace, it has been said in the UN that Tito's courage, inspiration and vision are missed in the world.

For the communists and for all working people of Yugoslavia, that courage is today synonymous with the determination to continue unshakably along the path we traveled with Tito -- in our internal policy as well, his thought is our constant inspiration, his vision is our action.

Tito was able to achieve the great work with which he marked our epoch because he was always at the heart of revolutionary events, directly participating and exerting a crucial influence upon their progress and outcome. As a trade union official he was among the workers, as the supreme commander he was among fighters at the heart of military clashes, as the head of state and leading party figure he was in constant contact with working people and citizens. By his thought, work and way of operating, Tito remains for Yugoslav communists and for all revolutionary fighters a model of how to serve one's homeland and the happiness of mankind.

The revolutionary, statesman and Marxist theoretician Edvard Kardelj is, alongside Tito, one of the brightest figures of the Yugoslav revolutionary workers movement. He is someone whose creative work remains permanently built into the foundations and developmental path of our social system, and one of the greatest treasures in the ideological and political treasure chest of the working class and Yugoslav communists in the struggle for freedom and socialism, social progress and democracy. Edvard Kardelj left behind a major creative work, the essential features of which secure him a place among the most eminent Marxist theoreticians of the 20th century. From the very start of his revolutionary work, right up to the end of his life, Edvard Kardelo was Josip Broz Tito's closest colleague and comrade-in-arms. This was an almost ideal combination of creative and revolutionary qualities of true giants -- Tito the revolutionary strategist and Kardelj the revolutionary creator and thinker.

For over five decades Edvard Kardelj exerted all of his creative energy and thought to create and formulate the most important decisions of the LCY and our society.

He was always at the center of the revolutionary struggles which the working class, nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of the Communist Party or the LCY with Comrade Tito at the head, led to their victorious conclusion and opened up the prospect of realization of Marx's vision of a communist society.

By uniting both vision and realism in his revolutionary personality, Edvard Kardelj, as a revolutionary, statesman and Marxist theoretician, placed a firm stamp on all of the stages of our development, at every step of our struggle for progress and freedom, socialist self-management, for the domination of the working class and associated labor, brotherhood and unity, equality of the nations and nationalities of our community, for the strengthening of the nonaligned policy of Yugoslavia and for democratic relations in the international community. Hence his work will always serve as an inspiration for future generations.

Comrades, between the 11th and 12th congresses, the LCY lost several of its members and members of the League of Communists leadership, among them Stevan Doronjski, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, Ivan Gosnjak, Djoko Pajkovic, Djuro Pucar, Jovan Veselinov, and Budislav Soskic, who were members of the highest party leadership for many years; Janez Barboric, member of the LCY Central Committee; Uros Andjelic, Momcilo Mitrov, Rade Zrinjanin, who were members of the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions; and Stjepan Jozinec, member of the LCY Supervisory Commission. I call you to pay homage with 1 minute of silence to Josip Broz Tito and all members and officials of the LCY who died between this 11th and 12th LCY Congresses. [1 minute of silence follows]

Comrades, the working presidium proposes that the 12th LCY Congress elect the delegations which will lay flowers on Josip Broz Tito's grave and wreaths on the burial place of people's heroes on Kalemegdan and on the graves of the liberators of Belgrade and thus pay homage to all of the killed and dead fighters of our revolution and members of the LCY. At the same time, flowers will be laid on Edvard Kardelj's grave in Ljubljana during the work of the congress.

Comrades, at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee, representatives of a large number of communist, socialist, social-democratic and other workers and progressive parties and national liberation movements in the world are attending the 12th LCY Congress. Allow me to convey our warmest comradely greetings to representatives of the parties and movements who are attending the 12th LCY Congress. [applause] Comrades, messages to the 12th LCY Congress were also sent by other movements, parties and organizations.

KOMUNIST, the organ of the LCY, will publish all of the greetings and messages the parties and movements addressed to the 12th Congress. Congress delegates and representatives of the parties and movements attending the 12th LCY Congress will be acquainted separately with these messages. Allow me to greet the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited in Belgrade who are attending our congress. [applause]

Comrades, the working presidium proposes that before going over to the agenda the standing order of the 12th congress be adopted. You have received the proposed standing order and I herewith open the discussion on this proposal. Who wants to speak? Nobody wants to speak, so I am putting the proposed standing order to the vote. Those in favor of the proposed standing order raise their hand. Thank you. Anybody opposed? Nobody. So I note that the standing order of the 12th LCY Congress is adopted.

On the basis of the adopted standing order, I note that the following are participating in the work of the congress with the right of decision-making: delegates of the 12th LCY Congress elected at municipal and other relevant League of Communists conferences, delegates elected at the republic League of Communists congresses, at conferences of the League of Communists of autonomous provinces, at the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, members of the central organs of the LCY who have delegate status and are members of the Central Committee, members of the Commission for Statutory

Questions, and members of the LCY Supervisory Commission. I point out that members of the central organs of the LCY have all of the rights of delegates except the right to vote on the work of the organs to which they belong and to vote on dissolving these organs.

We inform you that the work of the congress is being followed by representatives of the Yugoslav press, radio and television and by representatives of foreign information media.

Comrades, at the 25th session of the LCY Central Committee held on 8 April 1982, it was decided to submit the following agenda to the 12th LCY Congress:

1. Election of the working bodies of the congress;

2. Verification of the delegates' credentials;

3. Report on the work of the following LCY organs between the 11th and 12th congress:

   A) The LCY Central Committee and basic characteristics of LCY activity;
   B) The LCY Commission for Statutory Questions; and
   C) The LCY Supervisory Commission;

4. Report entitled The Struggle of the LCY for the Comprehensive Progress of Socialist Self-Managing and Nonaligned Yugoslavia;

5. Discussion on the above report and on the reports of the LCY organs;

6. Election of congress commissions, their presidia and chairmen; discussion in commissions on the LCY's future tasks and on the draft documents of the 12th LCY Congress;

7. Adoption of the resolution of the 12th LCY Congress and amendments to the LCY statute; and

8. Verification of the election of LCY organs.

Since the congress was convened and the proposed agenda published, no proposals or initiatives for a change or supplement to the agenda have been noted. Has any of the delegates a proposal now for a change in the agenda? Anybody? Nobody. Since nobody has asked to speak, that means that are no other proposals. I am putting the proposed agenda to the vote. Those in favor, raise their hands. Thank you. Anybody opposed? No. I note that the agenda of the 12th LCY Congress is adopted in its proposed form.

Comrades, let us go to the first point on the agenda -- the election of the working bodies of the congress. According to the standing order which we have adopted, it is necessary for us to elect:

1. The commission to prepare the resolution of the 12th LCY Congress;

2. The commission to prepare the proposed supplements and changes of the LCY statute;

3. The Secretariat of the congress;

4. The commission for the verification of the delegates' credentials;

5. The commission for the verification of the elections of the LCY organs;

6. The commission for proposals and petitions; and

7. The commission for editing and publishing the documents and decisions of the 12th Congress.

You received the proposals for the composition of these working bodies of the congress earlier. First, we are considering the election of the 39-member commission to prepare the 12th LCY Congress resolution. You have the proposal before you on the composition of the commission. Has anybody any comment or proposal? Nobody is asking to speak. I ask all who are for this proposal to raise their hands. Anybody opposed? No.

We propose the following to be elected to the 15-member commission to prepare the proposed supplements and changes in the LCY statute. You have the proposal. Has anybody any comments or new suggestions for the composition of the commission? No. Those in favor raise their hand. Anybody opposed? No.

Comrades, we will now take under consideration the second point on the agenda: verification of the delegates' credentials. Since the commission for the verification of the delegates' credentials has not yet been able to prepare its report, I propose that we postpone this point on the agenda until after the recess, that we proceed to the third point on the agenda. I ask the commission for the verification of the delegates' credentials to prepare their report in the meantime and report on this to the congress Presidium. Is this proposal adopted?

We now go over to the third point on the agenda: report on the work of the LCY organs between the 11th and 12th Congresses:

A) The LCY Central Committee and basic characteristics of LCY activity;
B) The LCY Commission for Statutory Questions;
C) The LCY Supervisory Commission.

In view of the fact that all of the reports have already been printed and submitted to the delegates, the working presidium proposes that they not be read now but that the discussion on them and on the report be held simultaneously. Whoever is for this proposal raise his hand. Thank you. Has anybody a different view on this? No. I note that the proposal about the reports on the work of the LCY organs should not be read and that the discussion on them and on the main report be held simultaneously.

I propose a 30 minute recess.

[Announcer] The delegates are leaving their seats. [station broadcasts music for 30 minutes]

[Announcer] We are now returning to the congress.

[Culafic] We have heard the report of the commission for the verification of delegates' credentials. I am opening the discussion on the report of the commission. Who wants to speak, please? Does anybody want to speak? As nobody does, I am putting the report of the commission for the verification of delegates' credentials to the vote. Who is in favor of adopting the report? Raise your hand. Thank you. Anybody opposed? No. I note that the report of the commission for the verification of delegates' credentials is adopted and that the 12th LCY Congress can work validly and make decisions.

We will now consider the fifth point of the agenda: the discussion on the report on the LCY organs' reports. The working presidium proposes that the discussion on the report and the reports be held in commissions.

Is this proposal adopted? Thank you. In order for us to actuate our decision, we must go immediately to the sixth point on the agenda: in order that we might carry out the election of congress commissions, that is of their presidia and chairmen so that they might then hold the discussion on the report -- that is on the future tasks of the LCY and on the draft documents on the 12th LCY Congress -- the working presidium proposes that at this plenary session we elect the commissions, their chairmen, working presidia and rapporteurs of the commissions. Are you agreed with the proposal? Thank you. I recall that according to the standing order which we have adopted the 12th LCY Congress will work in six commissions.

Comrades, the working presidium informs the delegates and guests that the 12th Congress will resume its work in the commissions which we have elected a moment ago this afternoon and in the next 2 days, on 27 and 28 June. We ask the delegates who have proposals for changes and supplements to the resolution and proposals for supplements or changes to the LCY statute to formulate them in writing in the form of amendments as soon as possible -- if possible either today or tomorrow -- and to submit them to the commission for preparing the proposed resolution or to the commission for the preparation of the proposed supplements and changes to the LCY statute. Written amendments to the draft documents can be explained and presented in greater detail by the delegates in the commissions which will collect them and submit them to the commission for preparing the proposed resolution or to the commission for preparing the proposed supplements and changes to the LCY statute. At the end of their work, the commissions will prepare their reports and submit them to the congress plenary session on the fourth day of the congress.

We inform the delegates and the guests that the final proposals of the 12th LCY Congress as well as the proposed changes and supplements to the LCY statute will be submitted to the congress participants at the last plenary session, that is on Monday evening or Tuesday morning, and only in Serbo-Croat in Latin script, due to time and technical difficulties in having these materials translated into the languages of the nations and nationalities as is usually the case with congress documents. We ask you to accept these reasons. At the same time, we inform the delegates that all of the documents of the 12th Congress will be printed immediately after the congress in the languages of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Delegates who have not been made members of the commissions should decide themselves in which way they are going to participate in the work of the commissions according to their wish. Guests of the congress can participate in the work of the commissions according to their own desires.

The proposed composition of the commissions and other information which you have at your disposal lists the premises in which the congress commission will work; these premises are clearly marked. All commissions begin their work this afternoon at 1630. Each commission will decide on the further layout of their work. Following the work in commissions, the congress will resume its work in plenary sessions. We inform all members of the working bodies of the congress that their first meetings will be held immediately after this plenary session according to the information they have received.

Comrades, we inform you that numerous messages, telegrams and letters are arriving for the 12th LCY Congress from Yugoslavia and abroad with one wish and message -- for the successful work of the 12th LCY Congress. Comrades, I close the first plenary session of the 12th LCY Congress. The second plenary session of the congress will be held on Tuesday, 29 June at 0830 [0730 GMT]. Thank you.

## Socioeconomic Commission Meets

LD271224 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1222 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 27 (TANJUG) -- Although the 12th Congress of the LCY marks the continuity of the league's strategic commitments, it must initiate a resolute action for radial change in the existing social and economic situation.

This implies a resolute accounting with socio-economic power centres which hamper a fuller development of self-management and prevent associated labour from gaining control over the entirety of income and reproduction.

This point was stressed in the course of debate in the Commission for Social Development and Economic Stabilization of the 12th LCY Congress which has attracted most attention among the delegates. Almost one third of all participants opted for this commission, and speakers in the debate so far have assessed that Yugoslav society, faced with many difficulties, is passing thrugh a crucial period, which requires clarification of some ideological vacillations.

Although speakers in the debate put forward various assessments of the country's present economic situation, they all agreed in the opinion that a stagnation had occurred in self-management, along with numerous deviations which were hampering the realisation of the strategic commitments of the LCY.

It is imperative to eliminate the autarchic trends which are obviously leading towards the creation of "national economies" in the republics and provinces, they said. In this context, they assessed as indispensable the constant strengthening of the integral Yugoslav market, especially through the income-based linkage of organisations of associated labour.

A special emphasis was placed on the necessity of observing the economic laws of commodity production in conditions of socialist self-management, as it not only does not hamper but even spurs the development of self-management.

The delegates set out that administrative interventions in the economy often draw away the LCY and the working people from their strategic goals. Administrative interventions in the economy reflect not only the acute economic difficulties but also certain ideological waverings felt in the period between the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses.

The tolerating of such a state of affairs, it was set out, weakens the action capacity of the LCY. It is therefore indispensable that the 12th LCY Congress raises an initiative for a broad ideological-political and social action which will affirm work, do away with behaviours not in keeping with self-management, eliminate levelling in remuneration, prevent statist interferences and ensure that producers come truly to dispose of the overall income and reproduction. These objectives, set back at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, must now be fulfilled, it was set out in the commission.

This, it was stressed, will up-root municipal, provincial, republican and federal statisms and, thereby, also the "seeds" of nationalism and chauvinism.

Particular attention was devoted to solving the problem of unemployment which has become "a problem of the young," curbing the high inflation rate, rigidly limiting investments and consumption and reducing the country's foreign indebtedness.

Some stands presented in the "Long-Term Economic Stabilization Programme", prepared by a commission of federal councils, were critically assessed. There were, however, no differences regarding the LCY's strategic orientations defined in the congress draft resolution on the LCY's tasks in implementation of the economic stabilisation policy.

## Socioeconomic 27 June Session

LD280918 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- The second day's work of the Commission for Socioeconomic Relations began with a recollection of 27 June, 1980, when self-management was introduced by law into our socialist practice, a historic deed which signified the transformation of our society.

Veselj Morina, the first speaker in today's debate, touched on the political and security situation in the province of Kosovo, particularly in Titovo Mitrovica. He said that following vigorous action on the part of subjective forces, the situation has improved. Nevertheless, there is a long way to go to achieve stabilization: Hostile slogans are still being written and subjective weaknesses are present in the production process. In general, however, the political situation is fully returning to normal. This was best shown by the mass celebration of Youth Day in which over 30,000 working people and citizens took part.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic said he believes stabilization can be achieved only through the consistent development of self-management. The chief causes of stagnation and malfunction of self-management lie in state and group property and other forms of monopoly.

Nedeljkovic considers the League of Communists should fight against all forms of opportunism, above all in its own ranks. The burden of stabilization should be spread evenly and not off-loaded on the shoulders of the working class. The economic policy measures are increasingly taking the form of state intervention. The "fingers" of policy and the state structures can also be felt in the sphere of investments and income distribution. This is where the chief cause for the slow association of labor and means must be sought, Nedeljkovic said.

Croatian delegate Rade Koncar said: I expected at this grand gathering of our Communists that there would be a far sharper struggle and incomparably more marked confrontation of opinions. This is mostly lacking because the congress documents were not drawn up in that spirit.

I thought it was clear to everyone of us, but I must reiterate it now, Koncar said, that we must change. There will certainly be arguments -- both economic and political and cadre arguments. We can no longer give blanket statements about putting everything right when it is obvious that many things are not being put right. We must direct the struggle toward rationalizing investments. We must fight to ensure that we no longer build what politicians want, but only what associated labor demands, Rade Koncar said.

The country's economic and political state of affairs is in many respects at variance with the LCY's long-term orientation, at the center of which is socialist self-management, Kiro Gligorov said. Noting that awareness of the gravity of the situation is gradually growing, he commented that differences still exist in assessing the stagnation in the development of self-management. The consequences are analyzed more deeply than the causes, while manifestations of unity largely rest on general orientations with the existing state of affairs being continued; precisely because this state of affairs is continued, it does not infringe upon anyone's position and therefore gives rise to neither ideological nor other forms of differentiation, nor to economic changes, Gligorov said.

There are different interpretations of the nature and importance of economic patterns in our society, Gligorov went on. Some people even link respect for economic laws with capitalism [words indistinct] this is the greatest possible delusion, Kiro Gligorov warned. Because in conditions of social property, respect for economic laws does not threaten self-management but rather creates favorable conditions for its successful development. In conditions of social property, the market does not threaten agreement-making and contracting, but rather provides realistic material and economic frameworks and facilitates more objective measurement of the results of labor and the success of economic activity on the part of all economic subjects.

Kiro Gligorov stressed that stabilization of the economy and respect for economic laws on the one hand, and self-management on the other hand, are not two separate processes but a unified and mutually conditioned path. Such a course prevents usurpation and creation of economic and political power centers.

Otherwise, Kiro Gligorov warned, the variance between self-management as a system and social practice will become increasingly deeper to the detriment of the workers' economic and political position.

As real economic changes come about, so ideological vacillation will increase and opposition will increase considerably. [Words indistinct] program of long-term economic stabilization, which cannot remain a program of economic transformation but must also include social transformation, the 12th congress must give clear instructions and underline the settling of ideological differences as one of the prerequisites for the success of this action, in order that the LCY may launch out into the social struggle which has already begun with sharpened ideological criteria. Otherwise ideological vacillations may become a dangerous source of opportunism, mistrust and weakening of the LCY's capacity for action, Kiro Gligorov pointed out.

In the conditions of high inflation, redistribution of income, equalization of success and failure through covering losses and the maintenance of numerous privileges by administrative and other methods, it is difficult to objectively establish responsibility. However, Gligorov believes that when everyone lives by the results of labor and by his own organization's economic activity, then in every collective the obligations and duties of working people will be clear, as will those of all delegate and other social factors in regard to what they do or omit doing. Political responsibility and every other form of responsibility is then logical and derives organically from the entire system, Kiro Gligorov stressed.

Nikola Kmezic advocated the reaffirmation of economic laws and stressed that one of the fundamental paths leading to this is linking up and associating organizations of associated labor in line with the principles of joint income. Although this issue was clarified in our theory a long time ago, it is not being fully implemented and not in a proper way, Kmezic said. He believes that pooling of labor and resources is the "corrective" path to take economic stabilization onto the right road.

Ljubo Jurosevic put his debate into two sentences: I support all those who have spoken of the need for greater use of all forms of energy from domestic sources. I propose that in the document on economic development, coal mining and production in particular should be given a special place, Jurosevic said. Ivo Kustrak said it is inconceivable to speak about agriculture in this context without stressing its link with tourism and the tourist industry. He stressed the natural and other comparative advantages of the two industries for the rest of the economy.

The political economic power of groups and individuals stems from the monopolies in the cadre policy, Teodosije Celenkovic said. Contrary to all the attitudes of the League of Communists and the need for democratization of the cadre policy, we have created coordinating bodies at the SAWPY and the municipal assemblies which to all intents and purposes make decisions in this sphere and by this this monopoly has been given a legal form, he said. People are ruled by monopolies, which means this is also the way in which income and accumulation are ruled. Ability, knowledge and responsibility of every individual in responsible posts should be ascertained by the workers themselves and the mandate for this cannot be given to any social body because this would mean in practice the power of the bureaucratic top. Celenkovic proposed an amendment in this context that decision-making on the cadre policy is the right of the working people to the same extent as is decision-making on incomes.

## Education, Science, Culture

LD270904 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG) -- In his introductory statement at the session of the Commission for Education, Science and Culture [at the LCY Congress] Sinan Hasani said that between the two congresses [word indistinct] Yugoslav federation in the spirit of strengthening the role and responsibility of the republics and provinces which was reflected also in science, culture and education.

However, these processes were accompanied by manifestations of encapsulation within one's own framework, (?separatism and nationalism under) statist influence. The non-self-management forces saw their chance in attributing these manifestations to the new position of republics and provinces and offered their obsolete solutions.

Hasani said that in the past period scholarly and art created effort has gained momentum and that social criticism in all the areas has been revived. The development of a critical attitude toward social practice is a sign and condition of the rise of creative effort, of its constant improvement, development of social democracy and spread of the freedom of creativity. However, the League of Communists (?did not in all) environments react in time to various pressures. Often groups and individuals tried to use democratic discussions to oppose the LCY program and policy. Adversaries emerged with whom there can be no dialogue. They gather together and operate from nationalistic, dogmatic, quasi-leftwing and other antisocialist and anti-self-management positions. They impose politicization of many issues pertaining to history and economic sciences and to the movie and theater parts, denigrate the basic achievements of our revolution and launch attacks on the basic orientations of socialist self-management.

Sinan Hasani believes that the League of Communists must take part in ideological discussions in science, culture and education in a much more organized way and that it must resist more successfully various antisocialist and anti-self-management manifestations. The League of Communists should also gather together all progressive people involved in creative work and pay more attention to rejuvenating its cadres.

Hasani then drew attention to the reasons for the fact that young people opt for non-productive vocations and to the need to reassert the educational role of schools and faculties, to nurture brotherhood and unity, equality and togetherness and the development of Yugoslav socialist patriotism. Extensive indoctrination with nationalism and irredentism of a section of pupils and students in Kosovo and through the educational and schooling process in schools and faculties must be a most serious warning to all progressive forces of our society, especially the communists. So that this can never happen again in any part of our country, the League of Communists must struggle for the formation of a rounded and free personality with a developed creative and critical mind.

The policy of equality of national cultures, in Hasani's view, experiences full affirmation in Yugoslavia. This policy has made possible the flourishing of [words indistinct] all this encourages the development of national cultures and enables them to permeat each other [words indistinct]. However, in recent years the volume of this cooperation has been declining while its quality has been slowly improving. In joint actions there is still much which is still of a manifestation of celebratory nature. Cooperation has been hampered also by unitarist, nationalist and separatist manifestations. This is a serious warning to all of us, Sinan Hasani warned at the end of his introductory statement. [passage indistinct]

The concept of the LCY, which in its program has opted for full freedom of creative endeavor, has produced excellent results and has revived the spiritual and cultural scope in our multinational self-management community. Dusan Roksandic, president of the Union of Yugoslav Authors Presidium said, according to him this concept is a pledge for the development of all national cultures.

Misunderstandings arise when controversial works appear or when they appear to be controversial to the individuals responsible for this area, he remarked. In such a situation a series of misunderstandings occur which give an opportunity to individuals in the country and abroad allegedly to express concern (?over the) freedom of creative endeavor which (?has not been restricted) and which remains our lasting and immutable orientation, despite temporary misunderstandings and lapses which we commit in this area.

We must admit that as a result of fortunately rare interventions in certain cases the feeling of lack of inhibition can be temporarily infringed and disturbed, Roksandic noted. He added that this happens in a situation when controversial works are valued by improper methods or when we attach to them the significance and the effect which they do not have and cannot have from the social viewpoint, and that it is irrelevant whether they are literature, history or memoir.

Pero Pletikosa referred to some topical questions of information activity drawing attention to a great deal of pressure which antiself-management structures bring to bear on information media. According to him, as sociopolitical workers and [word indistinct] the journalists will most successfully (?resist such pressure) if they are consistent fighters for the realization of the League of Communists policy and if they train their criticism and critical attitude on the manifestations and the individuals who behave contrary to democratically agreed stances. [passage indistinct]

Slavka Arsov remarked that (?the congress) resolution does not pay sufficient attention to the material position of (?young) workers. She also drew attention to the fact that inadequate account is taken of the basic (?aspects) of the educational and ideological upbringing of young people which may have negative consequences for the Marxist education of young generations.

In his speech August Vrtor referred at length to the importance of domestic scientific achievements for the requirements of our defense forces.

### 27 June Session

LD281010 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- Before the Commission for Science, Culture and Education continued its work, Chairman Vukasin Micunovic reminded the delegates to the 12th LCY Congress of the importance of 27 June -- Self-Managers' Day.

Bosko Siljegovic, the first speaker in today's session, devoted attention to the continuation of work on the history of the LCY, which was restarted after, as he said, a probably unnecessarily lengthy period during which the League of Communists was not directly and systematically concerned with studying its own history and the ideological trends in our historiography.

Speaking about this voluminous work and the rightness of renewing the work of the commission for the history of the LCY, Siljegovic comments: Certain speculative guesses which have appeared from time to time recently in a number of foreign newspapers to the effect that work on the history of the LCY is being spun out because, allegedly, Yugoslav historians cannot agree on so-called "dark" pages in the history of our party, are wholly without foundation. I wish to underline that in the debates we have held we have not evaded any topic, nor shall we leave out anything of importance from what we have discovered so far, nor shall we skip over any document or any part of a document in the archival documentation edition, neither where our successes are concerned nor where vacillations or errors are concerned. We have strived to give a realistic, that is, critical picture of our past. Because in adopting a critical attitude toward what it does today, the LCY has no reason to adopt any other attitude toward its past. Only thus will it continue to derive lessons from the past for its action today and in the future, Siljegovic considers.

Ziven Berisavljevic pointed out that we have long been unable to think up in an integrated way and to develop practically a standard system of education as a composite function of socialist self-managing orientation.

Serisavljevic considered that the congress should make it incumbent upon the LCY Central Committee and on communists in other sociopolitical organizations, not only in the Federation, to make a more thorough study of the system of education and the way of giving it coherence, in order more fully to establish the special characteristics and roles of individual factors of that system.

It is essential that the relation of the League should be more clearly established toward each of these, as well as toward the system as a whole, the unity and fruitful operation of which is now obviously in a critical state, but which the League must make it an important strategic task to guarantee.

Ivan Kataredziev, speaking about the development of historical sciences in Macedonia, underlined that very good results have so far been attained in this sphere. He also stressed the need to end the politicization and abuse of history, which opens up possibilities for various nationalist manifestations in our environment.

Esad Horozic considered that there have recently been too many political pamphlets which are romanesque in form, and that the demand for political pluralism hides behind the demands for aesthetic pluralism. It has been said even from this platform, he said, that political arbitration is out of place in aesthetic matters, and I agree, but it is worse to hush up and keep silent about such manifestations. The League of Communists cannot remain indifferent, for entire headquarters are being set up in the media and in publishing houses which give space and advertisement to these pamphlets. Delegate Horozic cited the example of the latest NIN articles.

Ramiz Abduli said a professionally trained cadre is the basis for strengthening our all-people's defense. He spoke about the need for further development of education in the army. The capability of our armed forces depends upon the effectiveness of the teaching cadre in military schools. The system of military schooling must, therefore, be an integral part of the educational system of our society.

The 12th LCY Congress must not begin a purge in the crude sense of the word, but must clearly point out that there is no room in the League of Communists for those who have by their conduct contributed toward destroying brotherhood and unity and who behave in a way which contradicts the economic stabilization policy or who fail to fight for the implementation of the democratically adopted standpoints and decisions of our supreme party and state organs. According to Vojislav Milicevic, opportunism in the League of Communists represents the gravest danger for the realization of its leading role, because everyday practice shows us that it is precisely opportunism which prevents LCY policy from being implemented in education, culture, science and other spheres.

Maksut Sakir insisted on timely information both in Kosovo and on Kosovo and he went on to stress that public information media in the province have changed for the better since the enemy demonstrations. There are weaknesses, he said, and they are reflected in neutralism, [word indistinct], phrase-mongering. As for information from Kosovo, journalists in other environments have helped considerably in exposing the enemy, but there have been also those who did not help. Makust Sakir stressed the need for better cooperation between media editorial boards from all parts of the country. On behalf of Kosovo journalists he expressed the conviction that the progressive forces will overcome the present difficulties and that journalists will make their full contribution to this.

Aleksandar Janic spoke about the achievements and development of military education. He stressed that we have built a uniform educational system for all the needs of the army by which the basic principle of our concept and of Tito's -- reliance on our own forces -- is implemented. However, he said, we face a fall in the motivation of the young people to enter military schools and this also decreases the possibility for better selection. It is, therefore, necessary to reexamine why this is so.

Biljana Djordjevic dealt with the negative phenomena among young people who have found themselves under various influences such as the imports of Western culture, petit-bourgeois morals and [word indistinct]. The cultural life of young people is often dictated by people who are not in contact with the young. She stressed the need for better incentives for young peoples' amateur work which is fairly well developed.

Hanife Elsani pointed out the positive process of ideopolitical differentiation in educational institutions in Kosovo following the outbreak of counterrevolution. She stressed that all educational workers who found themselves taking positions of greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism have been expelled from the League of Communists and that syllabi have been purged of everything which has been encumbered by historicism and romanticism.

In the sphere of education and cultural creative work, the Albanian nationality of Montenegro has achieved significant results thanks to the correct LCY policy, Violeta Nikprelevic stressed when speaking about the backward concepts of education which have been overcome.

I know of no work in the sphere of arts which will be reactionary and no work which could come from the test tube of ideology. These are the words of Joze Cuha who devoted his speech to the arts. Proceedings from the fact that there is only one art -- it is either art or it is not -- he advocated tolerance in interpreting various phenomena in that sphere.

Having noted in this context that art gives to society -- much more than it is usually thought, Joze Cuha then dealt briefly with events on the eve of World War II in the so-called literary left. When these events are manipulated without the necessary historical and cultural context, Cuha said, arbitrariness and half-truths emerge easily.

Redzep Gasi spoke about the problems of action and ideological training at Kosovo University. He stressed that any omission in raising the ideological level can inflict irretrievable damage on society. He went on to add that what Kosovo University and the province need is the full moral and political assistance of our community to overcome the situation following counterrevolutionary events.

The Yugoslav public is often misinformed about the situation and events at the university and many problems are being exaggerated, Gasi said. We know that the process of indoctrination of the young has been a family long one, he pointed out, and the situation cannot be put right overnight. We are waging a battle for every man and we shall remove from the League of Communists everything which is alien to our orientations. Redzep Gasi stressed that Kosovo University will open its doors only to those who are ready to fight for brotherhood and unity, togetherness and the development of our socialist self-managing society.

## Political System Commission

LD280900 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- Today's proceedings of the Commission for the Political System [at the LCY Congress] began by recalling that 32 years ago today the law on workers' self-management was adopted. Milan Kucan, who was the first to chair the session, stressed that this date is of historic importance because since then the means of production have been in the hands of the working class.

Fahri Kaja, the first to take the floor, spoke about the development of the paper KOMUNIST which today has a circulation of 600,000, has 15 editions and comes out in 9 languages. Despite all the successes achieved by KOMUNIST, Kaja stressed, the paper is still not in the center of ideological struggle. For this reason a more critical and more open approach to all issues in our society is required because this is the only way the paper can contribute to a quicker solution of the problems hampering the development of our society. KOMUNIST must more courageously open its pages to those who criticize the existing practice and propose new solutions, Kaja stressed.

Dusan Popovic spoke of equality in the political system, and, having stressed that social property determines the substance of overall production and overall sociopolitical relations in our country in general, he said that in the historic process of which we are in the middle a struggle goes on to change its forms and substances.

Decentralization of the federation and of the republics and the links between them on the basis of socialist self-management production relations (?as established by the Yugoslav Constitution) has created independence and equality of the republics and autonomous provinces. In this context the policy of relations in the federation cannot be taken out of the totality of the implementation and development of socialist self-management relations, Popovic said. "The relations between the nations and nationalities and between the republics and provinces also are based on the same principles which form the starting point for the implementation of self-management relations between the people." In the process of the struggle for the liberation of labor, the working class and of the people and of men a sharp struggle is being waged between self-management and statism in all sociopolitical communities, while the state is withering away in (?the) republic, province and the federation as a result of the consolidation of the position and the role (?of associated labor) and (?the advance) of the delegate system. And when, he added, as opposed to these laws and development tendencies of socialist self-management "in sections of the political system centralism and majorization [built-in majority] wax strong and appear in the form of hegemonistic and separatist nationalism -- then the road is open to pressure on self-management, to restoration of statism, consolidation of nationalism and exacerbation of nationality relations."

The democratic and self-management alternative is the establishment of relations between the nations and nationalities and between the republics and provinces on the basis of democratic and self-management solutions, not to weaken but to strengthen the unity and brotherhood of Yugoslav nations and nationalites, Dusan Popovic said at the end of his contribution to the discussion.

Dragoslav Markovic noted that despite all the problems and shortcomings significant results have been achieved in the development of our political system. However, shortcomings have been discussed for some considerable time and the same statements are being repeated, Markovic added, saying that the proposed congress documents have provided an answer to the direction for further action on the development of the political system.

According to Markovic, in the critical examination of the functioning of the political system it is not enough to dwell only on the work of self-management organs, delegations and assemblies. A complete analysis is impossible unless an evaluation is made of how the League of Communists and all other sociopolitical organizations operate in our system in which context the role of the socialist alliance as the broadest front of organized socialist forces is of special importance. Unless the role of the socialist alliance is well developed the political system of socialist self-management cannot in fact develop in any essential way but is reduced to its normative-institutional characteristics.

Having spoken rather extensively in the first part of his discussion about the process of the implementation of equality among the nationalities and in this context about the equality between the Albanian nationality and nations in Yugoslavia, and having made the assessment that "nowhere in the modern world has a level of legal-political and cultural-educational equality of national minorities been achieved as has been achieved in the case of the nationalities of Yugoslavia," Hajredin Hoxha devoted a major part of his speech to the problem of nationalism.

"(?Apart) from the problem of economic national equality between the nations and nationalities, the major problem of intranational relations in our country is nationalism," he said, stressing that nationalism in our self-management multinational socialist federation has become the most reactionary platform and ideology of antisocialist and anti-self-management interests of the working class and of the most vital interests of all our nations and nationalities.

"Someone must be totally blind and deaf not to see and understand how Albanian nationalism and irredentism has caused the greatest harm to Kosovo and to the Albanian nationality itself," Hoxha said, adding that this anti-self-management destructive activity has not only disrupted the normal social trends in Kosovo and the process of affirmation of Albanian nationality and seriously disturbed and alarmed the whole Yugoslav public but it has also inflicted enormous damage on the very reputation and prestige of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia.

Having said that the assessment of the reasons for and the factors involved in the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism has been given adequately in the LCY Central Committee platform on Kosovo and in other party documents, Hajredin Hoxha made the assessment that "in recent times there have been differing views on nationalism, its presence in various nations, and which nationalism is the most dangerous."

In our Yugoslav conditions it was shown that the most dangerous "nationalism was that of the numerically strongest nationality in a work organization, local community, municipality, province or republic," was the evaluation made by Hajredin Hoxha. He added that it is obvious that the most dangerous nationalism "is that which was given scope and opportunity to escalate and against which the Communists and the progressive forces of the nation are not fighting successfully."

He adopted the stance that it is "obvious that a successful struggle against nationalism can be fought most adequately by the progressive forces within their own nation." He also critically remarked that there are cases when "sharp vociferous references are made about the nationalism of others, while bashful references are seldom made against nationalism within one's own nation."

Escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo has brought about "[words indistinct] intranational relations (?leading) to intensified emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo," he added, stressing that Albanian Communists and progressive forces in Kosovo will make a great contribution to brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Kosovo, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia with their resolute struggle to prevent this emigration resulting from "political and any other pressure." However, in the assessment made by Hajredin Hoxha, "it is the international duty and commitment of all Communists and progressive forces throughout Yugoslavia also to frustrate any pressure brought to bear on the Albanians to immigrate to Kosovo."

"The working people, citizens and members of the Albanian nationality feel the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins to be a heavy pressure on them themselves because of the pressure, frequent disinformation and half-truths in public information media about this emigration," Hajredin Hoxha said.

He denounced the irredentist slogan of ethnically pure Kosovo as not only "absurd from the viewpoint of the present integration (?movements) and scientific technical revolution" and said that it could also have a disastrous effect on social life and international relations in Kosovo.

He added that the Communists and progressive forces in Kosovo are conducting a resolute struggle against Albanian nationalism, irredentism and counterrevolutionary activity and made the assessment that "they are often, as Dimitrije Tucovic put it, between the devil and the deep blue sea" -- under attack on the one side by domestic Albanian reactionaries and political Albanian emigres abroad and anti-Yugoslav propaganda from Albania, and on the other side under pressure from unitarist and nationalistic forces in Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro.

Having stressed that the most important task of the Communists and progressive forces in Kosovo, of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia is to strengthen reciprocal trust and cooperation and to enhance brotherhood, unity and togetherness of all our nations and nationalities, Hajredin Hoxha said that what is involved is a crucial question of the triumph of our revolution and socialist construction, and that this is also the basic condition for the consolidation and progressive development of our socialist community.

The ideopolitical differentiation of the Communists, of the working people and of citizens of Albanian nationality is now being pursued along this line from the viewpoint of the extent to which anyone is loyal to Tito's policy and to what extent he is fighting against nationalism and irredentism and from the viewpoint of his attitude toward the Serb, Montenegrin and Macedonian nation and his attitude toward their working class and progressive forces.

On the other hand, he said, "we are convinced that in Yugoslavia as a whole, and especially in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro an ideopolitical differentiation of the Communists and working people has to be carried out to find out who is in favor of the genuine interests of his people and of Tito's policy of consolidating the monolithic nature of Yugoslavia, who is a genuine internationalist and revolutionary, in terms of his attitude toward the Albanian nationality, his working class and progressive forces and in terms of the extent to which he dissociates himself from and fights against nationalism within his nation which is trying to identify Albanian nationalism with the entire Albanian nation and is seeking revenge against all Albanians in Yugoslavia," Hajredin Hoxha said in his discussion speech, stressing that this is a question of enormous significance not only for the successful realization of the LCY Central Committee platform on Kosovo but also for the vital interests of the working class and all our nations and nationalities.

We witness infringements of many norms of self-management conduct, Nikola Sijancic stressed. This is why we have to work for the purity of the League of Communists because among those who indulge in anti-self-management conduct there are many members of the League of Communists. Only a pure League of Communists will be capable of resolving many economic and other difficulties, and the working people will believe in its programs. Sijancic then stressed that there is an increasing number of cases where social property is misappropriated which causes great dissatisfaction among our working people. It is impermissible that we continue maintaining the practice of collective responsibility which in fact means that no one is responsible.

This congress must provide a precise answer to what is happening in the League of Communists and around it, Stanislav Stojanovic said, because the manifestation of the gap between what we say and what we do is increasingly evident. The pressure of factional and local interests is increasingly conspicuous which particularly discourages our working people. The League of Communists must clearly state what its millions of members must do to overcome the economic troubles which are multiplying. If the League of Communists does not carry out a differentiation not only within its ranks but throughout our society as well, it will soon lose its leading role for which it fought for decades and which it won, Stojanovic stressed. The now increasingly numerous theses to the effect that self-management is an experiment whose outcome is uncertain are impermissible. This is why we should stress our successes which are not small and work to win new ones.

Young Yugoslavs are not weighed down by friction and division. It is immaterial to them in which part of the country they live. They do accept no divisions, either national, class or cultural.... The young people have tied their future to socialist self-management and they will persist along this road, Milan Obucina said. I claim, and I do so responsibly, that Yugoslav youth today is no less revolutionary than in 1941, Obucina added.

However, problems of our society cannot bypass the young people, particularly those bound up with employment, educational lapses.... Recently accusations have also been heard about our lack of interest in politics and about pro-Western crosscurrents. We cannot accept such accusations because they are the result of not understanding the actual situation.

Of course, young people are not sinless either. They were not pampered, and all influence has an impact on young people too. However, it is clear that we young people cannot be only a copy of our fathers, after all, something has changed in the last 40 years. A great deal is spoken of the young people, but only promises remain, whereas young people refuse to live on promises, Obucina said.

The next speaker, Emin Salih, referred to the information system and to the role of the press, radio and television. He stressed that they are an integral part of the delegate and socialist self-management system. He made the assessment that information media quite successfully, as he put it, fight for the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, but that additional ideological League of Communists involvement in this area is necessary -- along the line of the implementation of a high degree of independence and responsibility of the system of information.

Speaking of lapses, which also occur, he mentioned manifestations of "direct or indirect involvement" along the line of nationalism and irredentism, an uncritical approach and paternalism. He made the assessment that what is involved is inadequate vigilance and responsibility in editorial boards and publishing councils which are socially responsible for editorial policy.

Despite individual lapses ("because journalists too are people of blood and flesh") Emin Salih made the assessment that the press, radio and television, viewed as a whole, have made an invaluable contribution to the stabilization of conditions in Kosovo.

Predrag Sparovic, the last participant in the morning discussion, advocated a change in the criteria for admission to the League of Communists which now ensure the massive nature rather than the quality of the LCY. He asked that young people be shown greater trust because they are capable of replacing older members, many of whom have already done what they know how to and can do.

We cannot be satisfied, Sparovic stressed, with the present functioning of the delegate system, especially with the work of the self-management interest community. Many important decisions continue being taken by inner circles, and if the decisions are bad the consequences as a rule are borne by associated labor.

At the end of his discussion Predrag Sparovic sharply criticized all those who raised their voices against people declaring themselves Yugoslav. We young people sincerely feel the way we declared ourselves to be during the recent census and we allow no one to impose his wishes on us, Sparovic said. We expect the 12th LCY Congress to support our orientation and defend us against increasingly numerous attacks.

Every revolutionary movement, including the LCY, must be ready to reexamine its ability to influence the trends and developments in society, Najdan Pasic said. If this does not happen the movement inevitably falls into subjectivism or faint-heartedness. The recent rapid increase in criticism and self-criticism in our society can thus be assessed as a positive symptom and as an expression of the Communists' awareness of their own responsibility for current developments.

However, the gap between proclaimed objectives and what is actually happening is increasingly visible, Pasic continued. For instance, it is said that income-based links are the only way to overcome irrationality and squandering and to free the working class of bureaucratic tutorship.

In practice the exclusion and the weakening of the influence of the working class is visible. It is also said that decision making by the workers on the totality of income is the paramount task, and yet the most important decisions are made outside associated labor. The need to respect economic laws is pointed out and yet there are more and more improvised measures of administrative intervention. It would be fatal if the Communists were to close their eyes to such manifestations, Pasic said. What is involved is symptoms of the decline in the League of Communists' ability to guide social development. It is important not only what and how great our difficulties are; what is also important is what our ability is to overcome them.

Pasic then advocated that the system of relations in the political system should be open to critical analysis too. We are talking about respecting economic laws, but there is also such a thing as objective laws of the political shaping of our society. Subjectivism is dearly paid for here too, Pasic said, and pointed out the need for a commission similar to the Commission for the Problems of Economic Stabilization, to be set up to monitor the problems in the building of the political system. Its objectives would not be to review the basic constitutional principles but to restore them where there has been deviation from the constitution.

Leon Gerskovic devoted his entire discussion to the communal system. Having expressed his surprise that the proposed congress resolution has, as it were, forgotten the communal system, to which merely one sentence was devoted, Gerskovic stressed that this has been one of the revolutionary foundations of our system since the first national liberation committees were set up.

This question is linked most directly with the topical problems of the implementation of economic stabilization and with the development of self-management. According to Gerskovic, in this matter we remain at the level of solutions adopted in the period 1962-65.

At the beginning of his speech Pavle Jovicevic made the assessment that in discussing the situation in Kosovo we cannot be satisfied with the results attained in the implementation of the LCY Central Committee platform, and that we must fight even more consistently for its implementation.

Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is the top political problem, Pavle Jovicevic added. However, the successes recently achieved here must not lead us to underrate the rigorous assessments of this problem or to minimize the pressures exercised by Albanian irredentists and nationalists. Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is the result of the atmosphere which has been created and of pressure, including physical attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins, he said.

Speaking of the ideopolitical and action activity of the Communists at Pristina University, Tahir Ajazi stressed that the results achieved to date provide a good basis for enhanced activity. Virtually every enemy attempt is frustrated and during the past academic years lessons were normal. However, there is no room for self-satisfaction because complete stabilization at the university requires a great deal of time.

An uncompromising struggle has to be fought against anyone infringing brotherhood and unity. Public information media, which were tinged with sensationalism, must contribute to this by objective reporting, Ajazi said, recalling the attempts to describe Pristina University as a hotbed of nationalism. Nationalists would want this very thing, Ajazi stressed, but they will not succeed. Speaking of the situation in the student (?center), Ajazi stressed that it is possible to say with great objectivity that with new organization, staff changes and intensified Communist activity the center (?has become) a place of stabilization of political life in Pristina and Kosovo.

In conclusion he referred to the discussion statement by Milan Obucina who used the expression "counterrevolution" in Kosovo. In Kosovo, Ajazi said, there is no counterrevolution but counterrevolutionary activity by nationalists and irredentists. Also it is wrong to speak of bureaucracy in Kosovo because these are in fact the organs operating on the delegate principle.

Verica Souvic remarked that at this congress also the words "it should be" are often heard. What is rarely heard is what should be done. There are few direct producers on the platform, and they would have something to say. It would be interesting to hear, Verica Souvic stressed, what they think about recent elections which once again were mainly a horizontal rotation of well-known cadres.

Col Gen Predrag Djuric stressed that among the Communists in, and members of, the Yugoslav People's Army there is concern for the state of intranational relations in our country and for the conduct of some Communists in LCY basic organizations and leaderships in this sort of situation. Our all-people's defense concept, Djuric said, is based on our internal unity as the essential factor in the defense capability of our country. Potential aggressors speculate about the possibility of intranational conflicts in our country and unceasingly foment them. All this places all Communists under an obligation to treat these manifestations very seriously.

The discussion is to be resumed tomorrow.

## International Relations Group

LD280434 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0836 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 June (TANJUG) -- On the second day of work the debate in the Commission for International Relations was opened by Vasil Tupurkovski from Skopje. He spoke about principles of good-neighborly cooperation.

Noting that our orientation toward and views on good-neighborly cooperation have their source in the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, Tupurkovski stressed that today there can be no room for any opportunism or inconsistency in this policy. In this connection he said that for Yugoslavia the principle of good-neighborly cooperation coincides with our vital national interests. In its cooperation with its neighbors, Tupurkovski said, Yugoslavia has always taken a consistent and principled stand which, he added, cannot be said of some of our neighbors.

According to Tupurkovski, the report to the congress should have said more about the position of national minorities in the neighboring countries, taking into account not only our minority in Bulgaria but also that in Greece. He did not agree with the view that one could speak in the same way about the openness of our borders with Italy and Austria on the one side and with Greece on the other. For this reason he spoke in favor of greater openness in talks about all controversial problems concerning this cooperation.

Ilija Topaloski, delegate from Macedonia, started with the statement that the international situation has seriously and dramatically deteriorated and that the danger from a new destructive war has never been greater in the period since World War II.

Speaking about the crisis which, according to some, has also affected the Nonaligned Movement countries, Topaloski added that the present crisis, in the same way as all the other crises through which the movement has passed, has been caused mainly by outside bloc factors. The delegate from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia saw in the seventh nonaligned summit a chance for overcoming the crisis affecting the movement, and believed that either of two fundamental things is important for the success of the Baghdad meeting: that there should be an end to the war between Iraq and Iran, or, if this proves impossible, that there should be a truce in the war between these two neighboring nonaligned countries.

Djordje Yuknanovic, delegate from Montenegro, spoke about the socialization of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and stressed that such an orientation is very useful for the overall foreign political activity of our country and particularly for its cooperation and good relations with its neighbors.

Mate Budimir, delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, spoke about the position of our workers abroad and possibilities for their return. Mentioning the Duvno municipality and its experiences in this connection, Budimir said that a large number of people from that region, including entire families, are employed abroad. Budimir proposed some additions to the resolution which should eventually be adopted by this commission, aimed at creating the most favorable conditions possible for the return of such workers, above all those of the so-called first generation.

Having stressed that in the entire postwar period our country had been subjected to various forms of pressure and subversive activity by imperialist, hegemonist and other reactionary forces from foreign countries, Lt Col Gen Eugen Lebaric, delegate of the League of Communists from the Yugoslav People's Army, said that "these specific forms of the use of force against our country are still continuing." They are manifested through psychological propaganda and subversive intelligence activities, political, diplomatic, economic and military pressure, stimulation of anti-Yugoslav terrorism and incitement of the illegal organising and subversive activity of the internal enemy. The aim of all this is to destabilize our country politically and economically with the view of creating so-called "crisis situations" for the purpose of preparing and carrying out a counterrevolution.

He went on to say that reactionary forces abroad and our internal enemies object primarily to our political system of socialist self-management, our independent and nonaligned foreign policy, our high standing in the world and our significant geopolitical position. Having said that these pressures come from the positions of two ideologies both of which are opposed to our own -- the anticommunist and the dogmatic positions -- Lebaric stated that they have gained in intensity particularly since the middle of 1980 and are continuing even today. "The aim of such activity," Lebaric said, "is to make Yugoslavia closer to one or the other bloc and to compromise self-management and nonaligned policy. In this connection some of our objective and subjective difficulties are being used, as well as economic difficulties and the physical absence of Comrade Tito."

Lebaric went on to stress that the foreign and internal enemy, more intensively than ever before and using a variety of methods, is trying to convince and indoctrinate the world and our own public that "Yugoslavia is no longer a stable country," that "self-management has completely failed," that "the economic situation in the country is chaotic," and that "the collective leadership is inefficient."

He also said that in addition to the usual propaganda in foreign countries, hostile Yugoslav emigre circles, various kinds of collaborators with the occupier [during World War II], ideologically disoriented Cominformists and others are being used on a large scale for the purpose of anti-Yugoslav propagandist or subversive activity. These emigre groups have at their disposal 25 printing presses which operate legally abroad, as well as 230 daily newspapers and magazines, various books and leaflets.

"Possible propaganda effects and influences of this campaign should not be underestimated," said Lebaric. "The most pronounced example of this is quite deep and widespread ideological indoctrination of a section of the population, above all young people in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. As is well known, indoctrination is carried out and organized by official institutions and intelligence organs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who relied on and collaborated with the Albanian political emigre circles and nationalist-irredentist forces in Kosovo."

Lebaric went on to speak about another form of pressure on our country from abroad, the encouragement of anti-Yugoslav terrorism, mainly abroad but also with a tendency of transferring such actions to the country itself. Having recalled the terrorist actions against our country, particularly those from this and last year, Lebaric said: "Some emigre groups and organizations, particularly in the West, carry out almost legally their training for acts of sabotage and terrorism. They prepare and organize themselves militarily for carrying out most aggressive forms of anti-Yugoslav violence and terrorism. We find it hard to understand that in other countries there are such reactionary circles which give support to the underground emigre circles and terrorist extremists. We are surprised to find that political and police circles abroad have not yet understood that their open or covert support for the Ustashi, Chetnik, Ballist and other agitators of disturbances, crime and terrorism harms in the first instance themselves."

Having noted that these hostile forces would continue their anti-Yugoslav activity, Lebaric said that we would find it easier to oppose these instances of pressure and we would be more efficient in doing so if we left less scope for enemy activity. In this connection he mentioned some specific conditions for our country's successful resistance against this propaganda activity and various forms of pressure. These include further strengthening socialist self-management, on whose foundations the common system of all-people's defense and social self-protection was organized, as well as consistent implementation of our independent and nonaligned policy, consolidation of the country's economic stabilization, strengthening of equality, brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities, constant raising of the country's combat readiness, organization of specialized institutions for the struggle against such activities, strengthening self-management and socialist awareness in young people and the like.

Dusan Rodic from the League of Communists organization in the organs and organizations of the federation spoke about the need for supplying timely information to members about complex events in the world and about Yugoslavia's actions on the foreign political plane. He particularly stressed the need for coordinating actions in foreign policy and for harmonised and united ventures on the international scene. When it comes to foreign policy, there are no separate interests of the republics and provinces, he said, and added that coordination in foreign policy is by no means control but represents harmonising on the basis of the principles of our united foreign policy.

In our assessments of situations in different [word indistinct] in countries, we have to start from an assessment of the position of the working man and citizen, said Joze Smole, delegate from Slovenia. The statement in the draft resolution on international activity that the capitalist world is in the middle of a crisis is correct, but it would be an unforgivable mistake, Smole added, if we did not also speak out clearly about the crisis affecting the socialist world and particularly individual socialist countries. Pointing out that these crises are above all consequences of regimes in which government is carried out "on behalf" of the working class and "on behalf" of the people and in which the realization of the rule of the working class and the people is being avoided, the delegate of the Slovene League of Communists said [words indistinct]. In this context, Smole advocated that both at the congress and in our future activity we should continue to point to all forms of interference of one socialist country in the internal affairs of another. [passage indistinct]

Predrag Vukovic, delegate from Serbia, spoke about Yugoslav newspapers in the struggle for peace and international cooperation. Vukovic said that in this commission more time should be devoted to Yugoslav newspapers and their role and place in presenting the struggle of the LCY and the SFRY for peace, equitable international cooperation and socialism in the world.

Our editorial boards should do everything in their power to both rebuff attempts at anti-self-management pressure against them on the internal plane and to prevent the spreading of foreign ideas alien to us and various attempts to pressure our press, as if it were not an integral part of our society. Vukovic also spoke about the struggle for a new international information system.

Expressing his support for the fundamental stands in the Central Committee report on our country's foreign policy and the LCY's international links and cooperation, Milos Minic devoted his speech to the topical problems of today's international situation and Yugoslavia's activity on the international plane. Today, at a time of increasing deterioration of the international situation, Minic said, attempts at depriving the United States of its international role and its ability to be actively involved in the protection of international peace and security are becoming increasingly clear. Minic particularly stressed the role of the great powers in this process as well as the fact that they had so far used their right of veto numerous times in order to prevent actions by the vast majority of UN member-countries to solve different outstanding world problems. Minic clearly stated that the great powers are also obstructing the work of many bodies within the United Nations. Thus today the United Nations is not capable of opposing aggression, military interventions, interference in internal affairs of others and of imposing effective solutions of conflicts by peaceful means. This is unfortunately a brave statement to make but we have to face reality. For this reason Milos Minic proposed that at the next summit meeting of the nonaligned in Baghdad our country should ensure that priority treatment be given to the question of making the United Nations capable of preserving peace and security in the world.

Minic also spoke about Yugoslavia's stand toward the blocs and their specific policies and steps in today's world situation. Stressing that Yugoslav policy in this respect had undergone no changes whatsoever, Minic said that we have good and very good relations with, for example, both the United States and the USSR, which however, does not mean that we can approve their concrete steps and policy toward different world problems. In this connection Minic quoted as an example that Yugoslavia could not agree with U.S. support for Israeli policy in the Middle East and the U.S. stand against the Palestinians, nor for that matter with the Soviet military action in Afghanistan, or with anyone's economic pressure on and blockades of anybody else.

With the speech by Milos Minic the commission for international relations ended its morning session.

Yugoslav universities are developing broad international cooperation, said Marin Slobodan, president of the community of Yugoslav universities. But in spite of the breadth of this cooperation, Slobodan is of the opinion that even more effort must be exerted in order to integrate our science into the international division of labor. Experience in such cooperation up to now shows that even more coordinated actions are needed in order to avoid such abuses as occurred in cooperation with Tirana University.

Nijaz Dizdarevic devoted the main part of his exposition to Yugoslavia's cooperation with neighboring countries.

As the issue of national identity in the global sense is of principled importance, Yugoslavia has always stressed that our national minorities are citizens of those neighboring countries, within which favorable conditions for the implementation of their rights must be created.

With regard to cooperation with Albania, Dizdarevic emphasized that Yugoslavia has an interest in cooperation with that country in all spheres of mutual interest. We have an interest, he went on to say, in Albania remaining outside the blocs and we shall do nothing which would push Albania into an alignment. However, we expect from Albania respect for the generally accepted norms of conduct, which means noninterference and respect for territorial integrity. Only on these bases is it possible to develop relations with Albania, Dizdarevic underlined.

Albania, however, has attempted through interference and support for irredentists in Kosovo and through the provincially euphoric campaign at its congress and afterwards, to dictate our constitutional order to us. In this way, not only are the relations between our two countries exacerbated, but there is also a danger of other, extra-Balkan factors being drawn in. This cannot, of course, be in the interest of Albania or the Balkans as a whole.

The commission will continue its work tomorrow morning.

## Group Hears Minic 27 June

AU271706 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Report on speech by Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the session of the Commission for International Relations of the 12th LCY Congress in Belgrade on 27 June]

[Text] The efforts to deprive the United Nations of its international role and its ability to actively function in protecting international peace and security are becoming increasingly clear, Milos Minic said, especially pointing out the role of big powers in this respect. Minic proposed that, at the forthcoming summit meeting of nonaligned countries, our country should insist on giving priority to the question of restoring the ability of the United Nations to preserve peace and security in the world.

Speaking on Yugoslavia's attitude toward the blocs, Minic emphasized that the Yugoslav policy has absolutely not changed in this respect. We have very good relations, for instance, with the United States and the Soviet Union, but this does not imply that we approve their specific actions and policies in relation to individual world problems.

Answering certain criticisms that can be heard in the world about an insufficient class character of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, and about some kind of a neutralism of our foreign policy and nonalignment, Minic stressed that these criticisms may emanate from a doctrine that is based on the interests of certain forces, or result from a lack of knowledge about our foreign policy and a lack of understanding of nonalignment. Illustrating the untenable character of these criticisms, Milos Minic pointed out:

[Begin Minic recording] What, by its character, is the struggle against the policy of spheres of influence and interests of the big powers? What is the struggle for overcoming the division of the world into antagonistic military-political and economic blocs which are the main factors of international tension and, at the same time, the struggle for active, peaceful coexistence and world peace and security? What is the struggle against interference in the internal affairs of independent countries and against military interventions and the like? What is the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism and all other forms of exploitation and domination in relations between peoples and countries? What is the struggle against the doctrine and practice of limited sovereignty and against inequality, in any form, in the relations between peoples and countries? What is the struggle for the full independence and equality of peoples and countries, and for their political and economic autonomy in all spheres of international political and economic system, for lasting peace, security and international cooperation on the basis of such a system?

Is all that only a struggle for national freedom and independence, for national interests? Can the freedom and rights of man, of an individual be separated from national freedom and rights?

Can all this be separated from the struggle of the workers class and working people in general for class interests, for the liberation of labor, for more just social, economic and political relations and for socialist and democratic social relations? In our period, are not the national interests and the class interests of the workers class most frequently interwoven and coinciding in all these great struggles? Do not the national and class interests most frequently coincide with the international interests of the workers class and other working classes and peoples of all countries in building a stable peace, progress and new and more just international relations and cooperation? Can international solidarity be achieved without respect for national independence and all other vital national and class interests of all peoples, of the workers class and the working masses of all countries?

Accordingly, what then is the class struggle on the international scene, given the contemporary conditions? And, since what is involved here is Yugoslavia's foreign policy in the contemporary world, I would add: What then is a class policy? Is it not all these great struggles which aim at liberating the people and, as Marx would say, at liberating labor by various paths along which this great historical struggle is proceeding, a struggle whose factors, whose main forces are not only the Communists or progressive forces, as the sectarianisms of all kinds understand them, but primarily the enormous masses of the workers class and working people, and frequently the entire peoples of many countries throughout the world? [end recording]

## TANJUG Carries More of Minic

LD271218 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 27 Jun 82

["Milos Minic in Congress Commission for International Relations" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- Taking the floor in the commission, Milos Minic spoke first of all about the present position and role of the United Nations. He underlined that international relations have seriously deteriorated and that detente has begun to regress, having now reached its lowest point so that one can barely speak of the remnants of detente. This is a fact in the world today and it is beginning to cause anxiety.

"Hence, in carrying out its role the United Nations is under great pressure from the confrontation between the blocs and great powers and is almost demonstrating -- I find it difficult to say this -- powerlessness in carrying out its role. However difficult it is to make such an assessment, we must look that fact in the eye and socialist nonaligned Yugoslavia as a member of the great world movement of nonalignment must endeavor to see that the appropriate conclusions are drawn from this."

Minic said the decisions of the Security Council are not respected and implemented and that the great powers make wide and broad use of their right to veto. In this connection he cited a series of examples of resolutions being blocked on the Middle East, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and the Malvinas. Other UN organs and agencies, too, are fulfilling their tasks increasingly less and are blocked, Minic said. In his opinion, this gives rise to extreme anxiety, for the United Nations is necessary to all countries without exception but it is most important of all to the nonaligned. The United Nations is today incapable of opposing aggression, interference in the internal affairs of independent countries and military interventions and is incapable of defending the independence of countries; it does not demonstrate the ability to impose upon all states the resolution of disputes by peaceful means; it is unable to open the process and organization of global negotiations to solve economic problems, or does so only with very great difficulty.

In this regard Minic said: "In view of all this, I think that at the next summit conference of the nonaligned priority should be given, among other things, to the question of making the United Nations once again capable of fulfilling its role in maintaining peace and security in the world and building a new international order in the spirit of the UN Charter." At this meeting the questions which must be asked are: Where is the United Nations now, how does it fulfill its role, can anything be done to enable it fully to carry out the role allotted to it in the charter?

In his exposition Minic also refuted certain assertions made abroad to the effect that Yugoslav foreign policy has an insufficiently "class" character. Such assertions appeared in a number of French newspapers but also elsewhere in the foreign press. In his opinion such criticisms either derive from the well-known doctrine at the basis of which are the interests of certain powers or they are the result of incomprehension, misunderstanding of the essence and character of nonaligned policy. In the same way, Minic spoke about criticisms asserting that Yugoslavia treats the blocs equally, laying on them the same responsibility for tension in the world and for the arms race and so forth. He said that such "criticisms are either inspired by the desire to exert pressure on our foreign policy in order to make us adapt ourselves and play to the tune of countries which are inimical to the principle and consistent policy of nonalignment conducted by Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement; or they are motivated by ideological attachment to certain ideas, not to say dogma and lack of readiness to free the mind and think in a specific way about modern relations."

Milos Minic stressed that Yugoslavia has good and friendly relations both with the United States and the USSR and with China and others. "We do not budge an inch from our efforts to continue those good and friendly relations on the basis of the established principles. We cannot, however, keep silent on individual issues nor can we approve the actions and conduct of the great powers. Can we approve U.S. conduct today and its attitude toward Israeli aggression in Lebanon?"

Minic went on to say that Yugoslavia cannot agree with a country which applies economic and financial measures and sanctions as a method of exerting pressure against anyone. Recalling that Yugoslavia was subjected to a blockade in 1948, and a total blockade at that, Minic said we cannot agree with a country which applies economic sanctions unless these are implemented according to U.S. decisions against aggressors, racists and colonialists. This is our position, Minic said, emphasizing that Yugoslavia remains firm on the principles of the policy drawn up by Presidents Tito and Nixon as far back as 1971.

He went on: "Let us take our other great friend, the Soviet Union. How can one concur with its intervention in Afghanistan? Perhaps they are dissatisfied that Comrade Dragosavac reiterated our standpoint in his report openly, and in a mild variant at that, with regard to Afghanistan and Kampuchea. However, we cannot take that into consideration. We did not agree with these military interventions and we have no new arguments to persuade us to change our opinion."

Minic also said we not agree with the fact that Vietnamese forces are in Kampuchea and "we cannot change our opinion until Kampuchea once again becomes an independent and nonaligned country." Expanding on the practical consistency of Yugoslav foreign policy which derives from the principles of nonalignment, Minic also said that Yugoslavia did not agree at the time with Chinese entry into Vietnam, either. He said President Tito had sent a message on this point to Hua Guofeng, stressing that the entry into Vietnam was harmful in every respect and that it would be best if China withdrew.

"Are we going to accept," Minic asked, "that because of these differences of opinion someone brings into question our approach to our consistent policy and implementation of the policy of friendly relations with all these countries, and brings into question our cooperation with all these countries? Only in equitable dialogue can we discuss these differences of opinion."

Minic also recalled that we are in agreement with all our friends that differences in viewpoints exist between us and certain of them, but that these differences should not affect the development of overall relations. Thus our relations should develop in spite of the differences.

## Minic on U.S., USSR, SRV

LD280240 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 27 (TANJUG) -- In the present aggravated international relations, the role of the United Nations is under enormous strain due to confrontation of the blocs and big powers and the organization is apparently almost incapable of exercising this role.

This statement was made by Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency, who spoke in today's debate in the 12th LCY Congress Commission for International Relations.

Minic also said that the big powers were blocking the work of many other U.N. bodies and agencies so that the organization is unable to oppose aggression, military interventions, interference in internal affairs of others or to impose an effective settlement of conflicts by peaceful means.

Minic pointed out that the United Nations is necessary to all "with exception" but "mostly to the nonaligned and other, small countries which, individually, lack the necessary strength to defend their independence and security from the big powers and blocs, or from some of their own aggressive neighbours".

Minic asked that the problem of restoring the UN's ability to exercise its role be given priority in debates at the forthcoming nonaligned summit.

"It so happens that either U.N. resolutions are not observed by the big powers or that certain big powers give protection to small countries that do not abide by U.N. resolutions. The big powers' right of veto is exercised amply and very widely", he warned.

Minic dismissed as untenable the criticism addressed to the Movement of Nonalignment for allegedly pursuing a theory of "equidistance" between the two world blocs. He noted that President Tito had said as far back as 1961, at the time of the movement's founding, that the nonaligned countries are independent, that they form their views independently of one another and that they adopt their attitudes toward the blocs and big powers from one concrete case to another, while studying their conduct and stand on every concrete international issue.

Yugoslavia consistently adheres to this, Minic set out.

He noted that Yugoslavia has good relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, China and a series of other countries.

"Yugoslavia does not in the slightest abandon its efforts for such good and friendly relations based on the set principles, but in the case of individual questions Yugoslavia can neither keep tacit about nor approve the acts and behaviour of the big powers", Milos Minic categorically underlined.

Minic said that Yugoslavia cannot approve today of the United States acts and attitude regarding the Israeli aggression against Lebanon.

In the same way, Yugoslavia cannot agree with the present application of economic and financial measures as means of pressure, "regardless of who is in question" and the U.S. is using such measures, he said.

Yugoslavia can neither agree with the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan or with Vietnam's military intervention in Kampuchea.

We maintain that it is indispensable to reach political solutions which must be based on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea and that these peoples must be given the right alone to decide on their fate, Minic specified. "If they need assistance, then the assistance should come from the international community, the United Nations, so that they would achieve full sovereignty and independence without bloodshed, wars and civil wars", Minic added.

"Yugoslavia has never agreed with the fact that Vietnam is in Kampuchea", Minic underlined. "Yugoslavia cannot change its stand. Kampuchea will sooner or later again be an independent and non-aligned country, what Vietnam, itself, had waged a war for. Kampuchea may possibly have to wage a war for ten or even twenty years but it will in the end become independent and non-aligned", Minic said.

"No people can be liqudiated, except by genocide. Just as this is true for Kampuchea it is true also for the Palestinians. This is a lesson of history", Minic said.

## Defense Group Session 27 June

LD271646 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1329 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade 27 June (TANJUG) — Yugoslav Federal Secretary for National Defense Admiral Branko Mamula stated Sunday at the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that the Yugoslav armed forces today are larger than ever before and that they have at their disposal modern armaments and equipment.

He stressed that the armed forces have become (?the) mainstay of the major system of Yugoslavia's total national defense and that pre-conditions had been created for the system's functioning "in all, even the most difficult war conditions".

Speaking in the congress commission for the national defense the Yugoslav defense secretary warned about the extremely disturbing international situation and the aggravation of political and economic relations in the world.

Admiral Mamula singled out the stepped up arms race between the big powers and blocs as one of the essential elements in the present crisis. He pointed to bloc pressures, blockades and attempts at bringing about economic collapse in countries belonging to the other bloc.

The Yugoslav defence secretary also noted that attempts were being made to legalize new, dangerous military doctrines on the possibility of a limited nuclear war. He warned that the military-political doctrines of the two big powers and blocs were in unprecedented confrontation.

Admiral Mamula set out that interference in the internal affairs of other countries aimed at their destabilization would continue, thus creating conditions and motives for direct military interventions.

On the other side, Mamula stressed, the movement of the struggle for preserving peace and independence grows as does also resistance to the armament race.

He said that there are many "actions in the world instilling hope". Mamula underlined the significance of the active role of non-aligned countries and the increasingly stronger resistance of the broad masses and progressive forces to the armament (?race). Admiral Mamula pointed out that the international military-political situation, particularly in Europe and the Mediterranean, will most directly reflect also on Yugoslavia's international position and its security. He said that the reasons are many why Yugoslavia has an important place in military-strategic combinations in the Balkans and in this part of Europe.

Admiral Mamula set out that the security and international position of each country decisively depend on its internal unity and stability.

"As a rule, aggressions have not been undertaken against the countries and peoples where strong resistance has been expected and where the outcome of the war has been uncertain for the aggressor".

Mamula called for Tito's work to be further comprehensively studied. A work which is not yet "sheer theory or a compilation of dogmas which are learned by heart and recited but is, instead, a creative thought".

The federal secretary urged a continual development of the Yugoslav armed forces and its system of the all-people's defense.

### Defense Group Hears Gracanin

AU272004 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Report on speech by Petar Gracanin at the afternoon session of the 12th LCY Congress Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection in Belgrade on 27 June]

[Text] [Col Gen] Petar Gracanin, delegate of the League of Communists organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, was the first speaker at the afternoon session of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. He pointed out that, in the period between the two congresses, the communists in the Yugoslav People's Army have conscientiously fulfilled their tasks and prepared the units for all forms of armed struggle. Our army is a modern armed force which is able to fulfill the most complex tasks set for it by the League of Communists and the people.

[Begin Gracanin recording] We base this appraisal of the preparedness of the Yugoslav People's Army on several important facts. These facts are: The stable ideological-political unity of the officers and all personnel; professional ability and training of the leading and command system; modern technological equipment and weapons of command staffs and units; and solid training and [word indistinct] preparedness of units, command staffs and institutions. The entire moral-political state of the Yugoslav People's Army at a level which ensures the fulfillment of all of its constitutional obligations in the country's defense and the fulfillment of the tasks imposed by the great events in the last 2 years -- events such as an increased combat readiness, Comrade Tito's illness and death and the counterrevolution in Kosovo -- represent a practical confirmation of the moral-political awareness of the units of our armed forces. It provides assurance to us of their ability to continue to fulfill all tasks set for them. This appraisal of the moral-political state and unity of the army is based on the loyalty of its members to the goals and policy of the LCY; the equality, brotherhood, unity and togetherness of our peoples and nationalities; socialist self-management, the nonaligned policy and the freedom and independence of our country. [end recording]

Measures have been taken to further perfect the system of leading, commanding and linking operations in the entire territory. Special attention has been devoted to training the war units for antitank and air defense, defense against airborne assault and defense against the forces of special warfare. Gracanin emphasized that our own Yugoslav factories are producing 80 percent of all weapons and military equipment, and that the army's preparedness is at such a level that there is no possibility for any kind of surprise. Petar Gracanin especially spoke on cooperation between units of the Yugoslav People's Army and the territorial defense units, and pointed out that we are moving closer to Tito's vision of the defense preparedness of several million people.

## Development Session 27 June

LD280948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) — Prior to the start of the debate in the Commission for the Organizational Development of the LCY [at the LCY congress], Chairman Ali Sukrija drew delegates' attention to the fact that 27 June is Yugoslav Self-Managers Day. He said this is a significant date for our revolutionary movement which places us as participants in the 12th congress under the obligation to do everything possible for a consistent continuation of Tito's revolutionary work. Workers are justified in expecting the congress to lay down guidelines for further action, which will enlarge the scope for the development of self-management and remove obstacles in its way.

Ljubomir Simundja stressed that a large part of society's weaknesses is due to insufficient ideopolitical and action capability of the League of Communists. I would say, he noted, that there are two extremes in the activity of basic organizations of the League of Communists -- either they devote their time to abstract discussions or they act from positions of power.

This without doubt affects the standing of the League of Communists in society and causes many people, who should by right be in the party ranks, not to wish to join such basic organizations. In work organizations secretariats of the League of Communists' organizations sometimes unite with the bureaucratic-centralist structure. Simundja said that in such cases it is often said that the party works well but that there is something amiss with self-management. It is not sufficiently realized that it is precisely such work of the League of Communists which impedes the development of self-management.

(Bogdan Radojcic) noted that it is good that the League of Communists has opened the door to new members. However mass admission of new members has not managed to preserve action unity and moral norms of internal party life. He said that it would be a good thing if the League of Communists opened its door a little less for the admission of prospective members and a little more for those who have no business to be in the party. In his opinion petit-bourgeois psychology has penetrated the ranks of the League of Communists, manifesting itself in irresponsibility, inconsistent behavior and a lack of readiness to implement decisively the agreed policy.

Sefedin Batali spoke about the League of Communists activity before and after the counterrevolutionary events. Having spoken about weaknesses of the former leadership and the forum way of work in the League of Communists, Batali stressed that recently the work of party organizations in Kosovo has been increasing, with significant results. In the period behind us there was almost no political differentiation in the League of Communists. It was more often the case that people were struck off the register for not coming to meetings than was that action taken against protagonists of policy opposed to the League of Communists. In the course of a year a total of 2,315 members left the League of Communists of Kosovo, 1,219 of whom were expelled. Batali believes that differentiation should be continued and that the basic criterion for it should be the individuals attitude towards present tasks facing the League of Communists.

Marija Zvekic-Miskolci believes that the battle for the further development and strengthening of socialist self-management cannot be won with the forum way of work. We face an inflation of conclusions and attitudes while our constitutional position, that is the position of the League of Communists as the leading force of society, demands that we change matters. We willnot be the leading party if we merely beat our chest or if we rule society through the state. We must change society and in doing so we must obtain the support and the greater trust of the working class.

(Prof Dr Dragisa Ivanovic) spoke about cadre policy, brotherhood and unity and the exceptional significance of morals to overcome the difficulties which our society is experiencing. It is good that we face the truth, he said, and stressed that for every revolution and in particular for ours the focal issue must be the attitude to man and relations among people. A precondition of trust in leading cadres is the struggle against all privileges and the struggle for brotherhood and unity as the crown of all relations among people. (Ivanovic) stressed that to persecute people without talking to them is contrary to the revolution and he added that there are less enemies of our society than some people repeatedly assert. In his view the only thing worse than such assertions is to reconcile oneself with the true enemies who do exist.

Speaking about privileges (Ivanovic) said that he has in mind above all the possibility of narrow circles deciding on major material issues of this society by linking this with bribery and corruption which have also began to erode our society. Due to bribery and corruption and various malversations we have captialists in socialism who instead of being behind prison bars are in fact protected by the broad fingers of some leaders, (Ivanovic) noted and assessed that the plundering of social property represents a crime with regard to the revolution. And thus, he said, individuals put in their pockets enormous sums of social funds, whereas in work collectives they quarrel about who will give a thousand or two.

We must all try together to create an atmosphere in which everyone will have the right, the duty and the freedom to demand and propose measures without experiencing any unpleasantness and this must be at every level in order to overcome the deviations noted. An important role in this is played by League of Communists organs which should act in line with their statutory role and not outside and above it. Advocating that we should build self-management "with a song on our lips and not with the froth at our mouth," (Ivanovic) stressed finally that it should not be forgotten that, regardless of the cases of brutal and excessive behavior towards individuals, there is no freer country than Yugoslavia.

(Fuad Muhic) dealt with some questions of the theory and practice of democratic centralism, with the Leninist concept of the party and the dictatorship of the Proletariat. Since a few years ago, he noted, there has been more open discussion about agreement-reaching and negotiations in the party and thus reactions of opposing orientations have emerged. According to one view the principle of agreement-reaching and negotiation should also be introduced in the party where it should replace the majority principle, one of the principles of democratic centralism. The second concept negates entirely the possibility of agreement-reaching and negotiations in the League of Communists. (Muhic) believes that where majority consent can be arrived at through agreement-reaching and negotiations this is not incompatible with democratic centralism. However to make agreement-reaching and negotiations an absolute rule and to introduce it instead of the majority principle would lead to the confederalisation of the party.

(Muhic) expressed his view of the opinion that the federal party head should function in line with the principle of agreement-reaching and negotiations, while in the republics and provinces in line with democratic centralism. He was in favor of a powerful party head guided by agreement-reaching and negotiations in the entire LCY, but which will have an active role in creating the League of Communists unity.

(Muhic) also advocated that the term dictatorship of the proletariat, contained in the LCY statute, should be reexamined. The term dictatorship of the proletariat implies the dictatorship of one class over the other. He said: I do not see which is the class in our society over which dictatorship is implemented.

Severely criticizing individual intellectuals for the aggressive and organized confusion which they are creating and introducing in our society, Jakov Blazevic said that they have gained the upper hand in some university departments and public-speaking platforms.

"Read SEDAM DANA [SEVEN DAYS periodical] -- of [word indistinct] about the confusion which some pseudointellectuals and preachers of total defeatism created ex cathedra."

They interdict this socialist order of ours. "Roma locuta, causa finita" [Latin saying meaning "Rome has spoken, the matter is resolved"] is their logic. A speaking platform of the "cultural worker" has been abused by some against everything that has been created so far. In their hopeless alienation from society and from reason they say that the present "crisis situation" demands counterrevolutionary solutions." Blazevic concluded that pronouncements made there resorted to sophistry saying that the failure of the revolution is treated with the counterrevolution, and he added that our prosecuting offices should fight against attacks on our constitutional order.

"We must develop and hold onto the criticism and the struggle against everything that is not right precisely as a powerful means of the confirmation and continuous development of our self-managing, delegate, socialist system. We should stubbornly fight against arbitrary "cultural and similar workers" and their speaking platforms which have revealed their (?true face).

The working class, all of our working people and their organizations are the legal judges of everything which is being done. They are the people who like everything that has been done so far and who do not stand for things being pulled backwards."

Dealing with the relations between the SFRY and the Vatican as a state, Jakov Blazevic said that the Vatican is not adhering to the letter and the spirit of the 1966 protocol when relations were established.

Speaking about Israel's latest aggression against Lebanon, Blazevic said that we should examine closely the fact that the Arab regimes, led by Egypt, are insensitive to everything that is happening in Lebanon.

The Palestinians heroic struggle, their politico-strategic goals are not to the liking of the Shaykh-bourgeois regimes of the majority of the Arab states.

Their eunuch-like Arabism will in the final analysis cost them dearly. The people speak and will speak.

What we lack is a true Marxist analysis of the foundations of this war.

With the schematism of blocs and Arabs states' political relations we will not grasp the historical threads in what is happening [word indistinct] the freedom and revolutionary class struggle in that area.

Blazevic also spoke about the Argentine-British conflict over the Malvinas, about the awakening of Latin America and in particular about the Iraq-Iran war and its consequences.

(Danilo Vasic) delegate from Kosovo, devoted his main attention to the higher quality ideopolitical training of the membership and in particular of the young. The bitter experience of the Kosovo events, particularly regarding the young, show what poor or nonexistent ideopolitical training can lead to especially if the League of Communists leaves empty spaces in this sphere, and thus the enemy can worm his way in through deliberate activities.

(Danilo Vasic) said that where the everyday ideological struggle is absent, Albanian irredentism and nationalism emerge, as does Serbian and Montenegrin chauvinism in environments where there has been no division between the national and the nationalistic. He stressed the significance of enriching self-managing life "while in operation" and advocated a clearer and more consistent ideological diffrerentiation in all environments of Kosovo. (Borislav Rosic) spoke about the significance and forms of Marxist education in the Yugoslav People's Army and said that the programs are conceived in such a way as to ensure that the soldiers and the command cadre are informed of all current domestic and international events.

The basic League of Communists organization must react decisively to the usurpation of self-management, idleness, isolationism, nationalism -- all phenomena alien to our system, (Svetozar Vuruna) said. It must fight against passive attitudes and useless meetings and fight for the responsibility of all workers.

Ali Sukrija spoke about the situation in Kosovo before and after the revolutionary events. Proceeding from the fact that the LCY Central Committee platform speaks in detail about the causes and consequences of these events and about the League of Communists tasks, Ali Sukrija concentrated on some lessons which the League of Communists has learnt from all this. Above all these events have shown how dangerous it is when the links between the party and the people are lost, how dangerous the bureaucratization of its leadership and the forum method of work is.

Decisive action by the League of Communist and other socialist forces has dealt the enemy a severe blow but he has not been beaten. He stressed that this means that greater and more decisive action lies before us. The League of Communists of Kosovo is waging a decisive struggle for differentiation in its ranks. All those who have acted contrary to LCY policy and who have, with their opportunist attitude and silence helped the enemy, have been thrown out of the League of Communists. This of course does not mean that there are no people in the party who should not be there and that they too will not soon have to leave the League of Communists. The sooner the better, Ali Sukrija said. Our present battle shows that there are still many people who should become new members of the League of Communists.

Ali Sukrija noted that political differentiation, despite the results achieved, is not yielding the results it should, especially at the university. This contributes to blunting the edge of our struggle and to certain passive attitudes of progressive people.

In the sphere of ideology, in his assessment, the League of Communists is facing a decisive battle and is against any kind of narrow-mindedness and favoritism of one's own history and values. Such an approach cannot be in the interest of any nation or nationality. Of course nobody is against the affirmation of national values but what should be stressed even more is that which is common to us all, of which there is much.

The Albanian nationalists and irrendentists are enjoying the open support of the Albanian leadership. Enver Hoxha's statements encourage the idea about greater Albania. In this way Albania is directly interfering in the internal affairs of our country, it wants to undermine the basic values of our revolution, it wants to threaten the brotherhood, unity, equality and togetherness of our nations and nationalities.

All of us together must fight resolutely against the slogan "Kosovo -- a republic" and "ethnically pure Kosovo." This represents nothing but raising the vampire of fascist theory. The slogan "ethnically pure Kosovo" represents the basis for pressures on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from our province. It is our obligation to prevent every such attempt both by political action and by measures by state organs.

Sukrija warned that we must also fight with the same resolve against all those who equate Albanian nationalism and irrendentism with the entire Albanian nationality.

Provinces are in our country a component part of Serbia and a constitutive element of the federation. This is an expression of our common will and of the decision of all the nations and nationalities embedded in the constitution. Any attempt to change the essence of our federation has met and will meet with the decisive resistance of all our nations and nationalities. What we have we have made together and we shall defend it together, Ali Sukrija said.

Ilija Perisic, as a guest of the congress, disputed the part of the discussion by (Fuad Muhic) about some views in connection with democratic centralism, Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For Ilija Perisic the explanation about agreement-reaching and negotiations being a component part of democratic centralism is unacceptable because according to him they do not go together. It should be explained what one understands the Leninist theory of the party but to speak about the Leninist theory of the party and exclude the principle of democratic centralism is unacceptable.

Ilija Perisic did not agree with the attitude that due to today's entirely different situation, the definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat should be excluded because to accept this we would have to change the constitution and even the LCY program. He quoted (?attitude) from the constitution and from Kardelj's book entitled "Directions of Development", which are also the attitudes of the 11th LCY Congress, which describes in a substantiated manner the development of socialist democracy as a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Branko Milovanovic from Zagreb believes that we shall face such a situation as long as that which belongs to the workers is only between the covers of the book of law. Therefore, she said, we the textile workers from Zagreb expect from the 12th congress solutions and decisive action by the League of Communists. Let us stop talking about responsibility and let us begin to punish those who do not work. Workers, I assure you, she said, are ready to support this; therefore let our revolutionary change be precisely in the fact that there will be less words and more deeds.

Ismailj Bajra spoke about Marxist education. When this fundamental issue is discussed, he said, we must speak more about the real quality of Marxist education. In some environments Marxist education is applied as a [word indistinct] and not as a revolutionary weapon. It was precisely the scholastic approach to self-management and Marxism in Kosovo which made the penetration of nationalism, irredentism and Stalinism possible. Bajra then dealt with attempts by the right-wing intellectual left to turn self-management into bourgeois apologetics or into Stalinist dogma. What is at stake, he stressed, is the open struggle against Marxism which we must put an end to through decisive League of Communists action.

The illegal taking-over of apartments, building without permission, abuse of social resources, of official care, unequal treatment of those who build illegally, usurpation of land on the coast in areas intended for construction and many other examples were the reason for (Ante Pavlic) proposing that part of the congress resolution on the implementation of legality be supplemented. How can a worker be satisfied if somebody next to him has milliards in real estate which is neither the fruit of his work nor the inheritance but pure rent. I am not against weekend homes, (Pavlic) said, but I am against somebody having both an apartment and a villa of several hundred square meters, while workers pay even as much as 1/3 of their personal income for a rented apartment. These are the sources of social differences and deformations which we must eliminate.

## STAMBOLIC, SAO TOME PRESIDENT HOLD TALKS

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[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG) -- Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, had a meeting this evening at the White Palace with Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. These official talks of the highest representatives of two friendly nonaligned countries, which took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, were attended by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, as well as by Maria do Nascimento Amorim, minister of foreign affairs of Sao Tome and Principe, and Oscar Acquino de Souza, minister of industry, construction and housing. In the talks lasting several hours views were exchanged on the most topical issues of international relations, as well as on the further development of bilateral cooperation.

In the part of the talks dealing with the international situation, concern was expressed about the continual worsening of international relations, which both sides agreed is caused by the policy of pressure, intervention and interference in the internal affairs of independent, particularly nonaligned, countries. In this context the great danger which the intensified arms race presents for the world situation was pointed out. It was noted that the arms race is today one of the basic elements of the exacerbation of the international situation and a form of pressure on independent and developing countries. Particular attention was paid to events in the Middle East. In this context the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the genocide of the Palestinian people were severely condemned. Reference was also made to the steps being taken by nonaligned countries to convene an urgent session of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council so that the international organization might take resolute action to curb Israeli aggression and effect Israel's withdrawal from Lebanese territory. Full support was expressed for the PLO in its heroic struggle against Israeli aggression. Reference was also made to the situation in Africa which, it was agreed, is marked by intensified pressure by foreign elements. Full support was expressed for the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization for independence and freedom. The South African regime's aggression against Angola and other frontline countries was condemned.

The two sides discussed in particular the activity of the nonaligned countries. In this context they stressed the importance of the seventh summit in view of the current worsened international situation and the need for nonaligned countries to take concrete action and initiatives to overcome such a situation and to resolve problems that encumber today's world. Both sides stressed that the policy of nonalignment and the implementation of the goals this policy advocates represents in fact the only way out of the political and economic crisis which confronts the world today. The unfavorable development of international economic relations and the increasingly difficult situation of the developing countries due to attempts by some of the most developed countries to preserve old relations of inequality in the world economy were also discussed. In this context the significance of the efforts to begin global negotiations at the United Nations on the problems of development and the introduction of more equitable international economic relations was stressed.

Since the two countries' relations are in the initial stage, Stambolic and Da Costa expressed their government's readiness and desire to promote and strengthen these relations. Special talks on this were held today by Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, and De Souza, minister of industry, construction and housing, during which they examined the concrete possibilities of promoting economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Sao Tome and Principe.

After the talks, Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a formal dinner in honor of his distinguished guest. It was attended by the participants in the talks, as well as by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and other high-ranking personalities. Tomorrow Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principle and president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, will head his party's delegation to the 12th LCY Congress.

## BRIEFS

SAWPY OFFICIALS ELECTED -- Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG) -- At its session today the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference elected Marin Cetinic chairman of the Committee for Agreement in the Federation of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference. Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen was elected chairman of the SAWPY Federal Conference Coordinating Committee for Marking and Preserving the Name and Work of Josip Broz Tito. She will replace Nenad Bucin, who was elected secretary of the SAWPY Federal Conference. Zivan Vasiljevic, member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, was elected chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Social Organizations and Associations of Citizens, and Hadije Morina, secretary of the Conference for the Social Position of Women of Yugoslavia. At today's session the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference also agreed that Ivica Cacic, until now secretary of the Federal Executive Council, should be proposed as a candidate for the post of federal attorney of self-management. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 25 Jun 82 LD]